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Soviet-U.S. ABM Talks Begin in Geneva

LD2408151888 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 24 TASS—Delegations from the Soviet Union and the United States began here today a regular review of the treaty limiting anti-ballistic missile defences, held every five years.

The Soviet delegation is headed by Viktor Karpov, department head and member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and the American delegation is led by William Burns, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Heads of Delegations Meet

LD2408211888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] A meeting of Soviet and U.S. representatives to review the functioning of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of antimissile defense systems began today.

[Correspondent V. Dmitriyev] Representatives of the two sides meet every 5 years to review how the treaty is functioning. The present meeting follows two others which took place in 1977 and 1982.

The first meeting of the heads of delegations and technical experts has just taken place. The talks are being held behind closed doors. The Soviet side has come out in favor of observing all provisions of the document, and remains in favor of this. It remains not only committed to these provisions but is seeking to make the treaty more effective and vigorous.

Difficulties in preserving the regime of the ABM Treaty arose after the United States adopted and began to implement the all-embacing strategic program for the 1980's which envisions the accelerated development of new weapons systems. The specific steps within the framework of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative aimed at the militarization of space are also connected with this. Moreover, this directly contradicts the ABM Treaty. Objective observers and international experts regard the deployment by the Pentagon of major radar installations and the testing of mobile antimissile missiles and other military equipment in the same context.

The Americans are trying to free their hands by stating that it is possible to create and to test any devices needed for antimissile defense in space. It is clear that attempts to redefine the nature of the document, which over the past 16 years has proven its vital force, cannot contribute to progress at the talks being held in Geneva on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons.

Need for Strict Observance

LD2408110988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] A meeting of Soviet and U.S. representatives begins in Geneva today. They will discuss the Soviet-U.S. working treaty on limiting ABM systems. Here is our correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev:

[Dmitriyev] This important document, which put a solid barrier across the path of the arms race, especially of strategic offensive arms, went into force in 1972. Since then representatives of both states have met every 5 years to discuss and to evaluate how the tenets of the treaty are being implemented. A mechanism for consultations has been set up, particularly in the standing consultative commission.

Soviet and U.S. diplomats and experts have held relevant talks twice, in 1977 and 1982, and now here is another meeting. As is known, problems arose in preserving the ABM Treaty procedure after the United States adopted and began to implement a comprehensive strategic program in the eighties that envisages the rapid development of new arms systems. The so-called Strategic Defense Initiative is connected with this. The U.S. side continues to stick to the freedom of action principle, the so-called broad or extended interpretation of the ABM Treaty, claiming that it is permissible to design and to test any equipment essential for antiballistic missile defense in space; that is, offensive or defensive. At the same time, the document itself provides an unambiguous answer on that question: Effective steps for limiting antiballistic defense measures would be an important factor in curbing the strategic offensive arms race and would reduce the danger of nuclear war breaking out.

Attempts to redefine the nature of the document, which has proved its vitalness, cannot contribute to progress in the talks being held in Geneva on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons. The achievement of a corresponding agreement, as has been stressed many times by Soviet representatives here in Geneva, is indissolubly linked with how strictly the ABM Treaty is observed, for it has vital importance with regard to strengthening strategic stability and international security.

The Soviet delegation expects a constructive approach from the U.S. representatives and a search for mutually acceptable solutions. The Soviet delegation stresses the need for the current meeting to confirm the common devotion of the two sides to the goals and tenets of the ABM Treaty.

UN Head Comments on U.S.-USSR Contributions

LD2408153088 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn August 24 TASS—The United Nations has managed to make substantial progress in settling the situations in crisis areas, largely due to improvements in Soviet-American relations, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said in an interview with the West German newspaper DIE WELT.

He said the Soviet Union and the United States had made a major contribution to creating a favourable climate for removing international conflicts by setting a good example with their behaviour.

Confrontation between the superpowers used to aggravate international problems in earlier days. But, the fact that the Soviet Union and the United States overcame not only political, but also ideological barriers and found the way to a constructive dialogue has set a kind of example to other countries.

Perez de Cuellar emphasized the superpowers' major role in the recent progress achieved by the United Nations in resolving many of its problems.

Conference on African Refugees Held in Oslo

Adamishin Addresses Meeting

LD2408165988 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Oslo August 24 TASS—Anatoliy Adamishin, Soviet deputy foreign minister, who leads the Soviet delegation to the conference on the problem of refugees in the south of Africa, now held in Oslo, today informed the participants about the USSR's approach to solving the conflict situation in that region.

In our time, when the situation in the world has taken a turn for the better, the Soviet representative said, the intricate knot of contradictions in the south of Africa can be untangled. The Geneva accords on Afghanistan may get off the ground, and have already done so, the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. [sentence as received] This includes the situation in the south-west of Africa as well.

The Soviet Union has never adhered to the "worse it is, the better" approach. The USSR favours finding a just settlement. And a just settlement, in our view, is one which does not run counter to the interests of our friends and allies—Angola, Cuba, the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the ANC [African national Congress] liberation movements. If it proves possible to achieve decolonisation of Namibia under the UN Security Council Resolution 435, if Angola's security is guaranteed, which means not only the pullout of South-African troops from the territory of that country but also an end to the illegal support of anti-government groupings, the situation in the region will improve. This will be a tangible contribution to the long- term and radical solution of the refugees problem.

The apartheid regime of South Africa has been and remains the chief cause of the exacerbation of all the problems in the south of Africa, the Soviet deputy foreign minister said. The world community, he said, will not cease its efforts until an end has been put to this dangerous and flagrant anachronism. Only a clear firmness, resolve and readiness to act on the part of the international community may bring the desired result.

Meets Norwegian Parliamentarians

LD2408183988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1205 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Oslo, 24 Aug (TASS)—Deputy USSR Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin, who is heading the Soviet delegation to the international conference in Oslo on the problem of refugees in southern Africa, met Tuesday with Reiulf Steen, deputy chairman of the Norwegian Storting (parliament) and leaders of the parliamentary factions of the country's main political parties.

At its request, the Norwegian side was briefed on the progress of restructuring in the USSR, the development of democracy and glasnost, and also the Soviet Union's approach to questions of cooperation in the humanitarian field.

Afghan Minister Addresses Group

LD2408185188 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Oslo August 24 TASS—Afghan Government is making vigorous efforts with a view to an early settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and in its declared policy of national reconciliation. It regards the observance of the Geneva accords as the only correct road leading to peace and stability in the region. This was said at a press conference today by Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil attending here an international conference on the status of refugees, returnees and deportees of the south of Africa.

The roots of the protracted and dangerous conflict around Afghanistan, the minister said, go far beyond the bounds of the country proper. The process of national reconciliation, which has got under way, is being vigorously opposed by forces which are trying to achieve their objectives in the tangle of the region's contradictions. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that the question of refugees has reached such acuity. Their return to their country is obstructed by the unconstructive position adopted by Pakistan in defiance of the Geneva accords. Pakistani authorities continue their shipments of arms, ammunition and food to the armed formations of Afghan opposition.

Afghan foreign minister confirmed that the Soviet troops are being withdrawn in strict compliance with the Geneva accords. Half the Soviet military contingent left the country by August 15 and the whole of the contingent will have left Afghanistan by next Febraury. The Soviet troops do not take part in the hostilities, confining their actions solely to self-defence, 'Abdul Wakil said.

Velikhov at International Scientific Symposium

LD2508101888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2146 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Rome, 25 Aug TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Golyayev reports: Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti received here participants in the international scientific symposium on the problems of war and peace that has concluded in the Sicilian town of Erice. This eighth annual meeting of scientists took place under the motto "From Confrontation to Cooperation" and brought together prominent representatives of international science from the USSR, the United States, the PRC, India, Japan, and a number of European countries. The Soviet delegation was headed by Ye.P. Velikhov. [passage omitted]

"We evaluate as positive the results of the present symposium in Erice," said Academician Ye.P. Velikhov in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. "Extremely important announcements were made at it. For example, the U.S. delegation stated that the decision had been made in the United States to declassify so-called 'nuclear target technologies' [tekhnologiya yadernykh misheniy]; that is, targets for laser-controlled thermonuclear synthesis." "This is a very serious decision," stressed the head of the Soviet delegation. "It is reminiscent of the decision made in its time by the Soviet Union on declassifying magnetic thermonuclear synthesis, which made it possible to set up international cooperation which has now found expression in the designing of a thermonuclear reactor. Following the present U.S. decision, we may expect cooperation on the same scale."

The vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences also pointed out that proposals were considered for utilizing for peaceful purposes the nuclear missiles subject to elimination during the process of disarmament that has begun between the USSR and the United States. These proposals were put forward by Soviet and U.S. scientists. We shall report to the governments of our countries on these proposals and will request they be taken into account both in the elaboration of a new treaty on eliminating strategic missiles and also in the process of implementing the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

United States & Canada

Moscow Comments on Latest Terrorism Report

LD2408220588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] The United States has begun its latest propaganda campaign with a report which was distributed last Monday by the State Department. It is called "Global Terrorism in 1987." The 70 pages of this document list the acts that Washington characterizes as international terrorism. It also names the countries and organizations that allegedly support acts of terrorism. I invite commentator Boris Andrianov to express his opinion on this:

[Andrianov] There is no argument about it: terrorism is a very terrible evil. You could even say that it is the calamity of our time. Therefore, the data cited in the U.S. State Department's report cannot fail to cause alarm. But was it this that prompted Washington to publish this document? Familiarity with it provides a convincingly negative reply to that question, as it becomes obvious that the authors were guided by quite different motives. They have blatantly tried to present the United States as some sort of uncompromising fighter against terrorism and on this basis—if I can describe it as such - to appropriate for itself the role of a universal judge who may pass sentence on the policies of other states.

In doing this, Washington follows its old principles for defining sources of terrorism. It was not without purpose that the compilers of the report, without producing proof, accuse a number of countries, whose political policy is inconvenient for the present U.S. Administration, of involvement in terrorism. The states listed include Nicaragua, Syria, Libya, and Cuba, but particularly fierce attacks fall on the Republic of Afghanistan. It is alleged that its government is sowing terrorism in neighboring Pakistan and that it is responsible for more than half of all acts of terrorism in the world last year. Political conclusions are also reached through these calculations. Since Moscow helps Kabul, Washington surmises, then the Soviet Union can also be accused of complicity in terrorism.

We could, of course, ignore such absurd fabrications, but they are persistently slipping them into the soup of disinformation that is being cooked in Washington's propaganda kitchen. I cannot help but think that certain people across the ocean wish to cast a shadow over the peace-loving foreign policy course of Kabul and Moscow, which consistently favor a very rapid settlement of the Afghan problem on the basis of the Geneva agreements. It looks very much as if Washington has set itself the task of diverting public attention from the question of the real causes of terrorism, from the question that is becoming increasingly important and topical. Meanwhile, these causes are no secret. International terrorism is nothing other than the direct outcome of Washington's policy of neoglobalism, the basis of which is force. It has been launched by the United States, which is calculating on subjugating and enslaving the peoples of other countries in the name of the notorious U.S. vital interests, which spread over virtually all continents.

The tense and unstable situation in Pakistan, which has been turned into a strategic U.S. bridgehead, is linked in many ways precisely with Washington's neoglobalist policy. This policy has created a breeding ground there for the growth of acts of terrorism. There is a move to include the air disaster in which Pakistani President Ziaul Haq died among these. Whatever versions are put forward about this, the generally tense atmosphere into which Pakistan was drawn by the United States undoubtedly lies at the bottom of what took place. So what it comes down to in the end is that Washington is more than circumstantially related to the tragic death of the Pakistani head of state. Therefore, Washington will not succeed in passing the buck, as they say, something the leaders of the U.S. State Department have been trying to do by degrees in their report on global terrorism in 1987.

U.S. Policy on Nicaragua Criticized

PM2408142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Zafesov "Viewpoint": "Faulty Compass"]

[Text] The Guatemala accords, envisaging the peaceful settlement of the situation in the Central American region, including Nicaragua, were signed 1 year ago. Even today, however, there is no certainty that they will be successfully implemented. The situation remains very complex.

Let me take the liberty of expressing my belief that peace would have come to this long-suffering country had it not been for U.S. support to the contras. The United States has not the slightest intention of giving up its pressure on the Sandinist government. It is not abandoning its intrigues against Nicaragua. These intrigues are based on the false premise that only pressure on the Sandinists can force them "to take steps in the direction of peace and democracy." This in particular is what Senator David Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, thinks. His words are cited by U.S. President Ronald Reagan. He shares Boren's view, and goes on to add: "Defense of democracy and support for the cause of freedom in the struggle against communism are correct steps."

As a matter of fact, these statements are nothing new. They are as old as the imperialist world. Just like everything else that is old and obsolete in the sphere of political thinking, this stance by Washington acts as an obstacle to the peaceful settlement of the Nicaraguan conflict. It is perfectly understandable that it is only because of this line pursued by the White House that the leaders of the counterrevolution show no interest in

concluding an agreement on a final cease-fire in Nicaragua. They have good reasons to expect U.S. appropriations running into millions. Hence the "intransigence" of the contras, who never stop making unacceptable demands. As far as they are concerned, peaceful dialogue is just a tactical maneuver to gain time.

The contras also need these delays because the election campaign in the United States is having a surprising effect on their position. Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, is against giving aid to the contras, while Lloyd Bentsen, the Democrats' vice presidential candidate, is in favor. The Democrats are worried that the Republicans and Vice President Bush could accuse their party of being "soft" on the Sandinist revolution. In brief, the election struggle in the United States will give a certain coloring to the problem of a peaceful settlement in Nicaragua but, in my opinion, will not change the essence of the issue.

It is still too early to forecast who will be the next occupant of the White House and what line he will pursue. But there can be no argument that the present administration is stubbornly pursuing a course of confrontation. Suffice it to recall the recent meeting between Secretary of State G. Shultz and the foreign ministers of four Central American countries, at which he tried to force through a communique that was sharply negative toward Nicaragua. Costa Rica and Guatemala rejected the formulations proposed by the United States. Washington is now trying to put its best face forward on this sorry business and is using Morris Busby, the U.S. President's special envoy to Central America, to give assurances that "there was no such thing as a U.S. draft communique." I think that this is not so.

Nicaragua's official condemnation by Central America would be of great importance for Washington. Apart from paying political and propaganda dividends, it could become an instrument to exert pressure on members of Congress to make them undo the U.S. taxpayers' purse-strings for aid to the Contras. The Department of State and the White House would emerge looking quite good.

But life shows that Washington's calculations are proving wrong with increasing frequency. Nicaragua's neighbors are no longer willing to follow the U.S. lead without reservation. Ecuador resumed diplomatic relations with Nicaragua a few days ago—a step which requires no comment and can be appraised only positively.

The presence of the contras and their activities cause anxiety among Nicaragua's closest neighbors. A patrol of Costa Rica's Civil Guard was recently attacked by a group of contras a few kilometers from the border with Nicaragua. One Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary was killed and two were arrested in the ensuing armed clash. The Costa Rican Government, pursuing its policy of neutrality, intends to intensify its monitoring of the border zone. It was announced at the same time that Costa Rica will not allow the presence of armed contra gangs on its territory. In brief, a whole series of countries in the region are clearly indicating that they do not agree with Washington's course toward Nicaragua.

The reaction by Nicaragua's revolutionary government is only natural. Should the contras receive additional funds to wage war, it has reserved the right to take any domestic measures necessary to defend the republic. On the other hand, President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua announced the readiness of the republic's government to embark on a dialogue with the United States on problems of mutual security without any preliminary conditions from either side. Furthermore, Nicaragua put forth the initiative of holding a meeting of presidents of Central American countries to discuss questions concerning security and arms levels in the region. This is further proof that the revolutionary government is seeking a peaceful settlement of the problem.

It is only to be regretted that Washington's political helmsmen are so committed to the old course and are still following a compass whose needle points in just one direction—that of diktat and pressure.

Dukakis Stand on Arms, Regional Conflicts Viewed

PM2208133588 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Aug 88 p 14

[Iona Andronov article under the rubric "Political Portrait": "Michael Dukakis: "If I Get to the White House"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Democrat Dukakis supports the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles that the Republicans concluded with Moscow, which is popular in the United States. Moreover, in April Dukakis finally associated himself with the intention of his country's incumbent government to reach an agreement with the USSR on a mutual 50-percent reduction in strategic weapons:

"If I get to the White House on 20 January next year, I will complete the job and will sanction the new agreement on strategic arms provided that virtually all the preparations have been completed and it satisfies me and our Senate."

Dukakis then added:

"In general my opinions on missile weapons are based on my conviction that if the arms race in this field continues it will be never-ending. For instance, if we create the planned 'Midgetman' missiles, our opponent will probably create a countersystem to destroy the 'Midgetman.' It is much more useful for our own and the Soviet Union's security to try to control the missile arms race together and try, where possible, to reduce current nuclear arsenals while jointly keeping count of them and inspecting them."

In order to escape the impasse of the nuclear missile race that poses a danger to everyone, Dukakis is proposing to abandon U.S. production of the new "Midgetman" and "MX" missiles, the creation of "Star Wars" space weapons, and the continuation of underground nuclear tests. Dukakis reproaches the Washington authorities for their decision to spend $100 billion over the next 5 years on nuclear missiles, but at the same time Dukakis—paradoxical as it may seem—categorically opposes cuts in appropriations to the Pentagon! The fact is that he is campaigning for his own new "Conventional Arms Defense Initiative" to replace Reagan's SDI doctrine: He wants to sharply step up U.S. armored, aircraft, and motorized rifle troops, primarily in Europe, while saving money from the limitation of the superfluous missile arsenal. It is perfectly clear against whom these weapons are to be targeted.

Thus, Dukakis' military-strategic "restructuring" will not ultimately change the previous aims of U.S. foreign policy. There is no need for U.S. arms manufacturers, who previously played an important role in the industrial prosperity of Massachusetts at the invitation of its governor, to be afraid. Nor is there any reason for the Pentagon top brass to worry, since Dukakis rejected his colleagues' proposal at the July Democratic July Convention to pledge that the United States will not make the first use of nuclear weapons in future military cataclysms. Moreover, Dukakis has advocated the preservation, as before, of the anti-Soviet doctrine of "nuclear missile retaliation."

Dukakis' recipes for regional conflicts are more positive. The Democratic nominee criticizes Washington's aggressiveness in the Persian Gulf and proposes the deployment of a multinational UN military contingent there to bring peace. Dukakis has condemned the apartheid of South Africa's white racists and has called for the cessation of U.S. arms deliveries to South Africa's accomplices in Angola. He demands that what he regards as incoherent U.S. policy in Nicaragua, Panama, Grenada, and other Central American countries be rectified.

Outside the United States Dukakis is, naturally, the subject of the greatest discussion in Greece. The American magazine TIME dispatched its correspondent Katie Booth to the Greek island of Lesbos, to the village of Pelopi. There the journalist interviewed a pensioner and lottery ticket seller whose old Japanese automobile parked in the street had the poster "Dukakis for President!" stuck to its back windshield. That is why the American asked the pensioner the following question:

"In your opinion, what will Dukakis do for Greece?"

"Absolutely nothing," the old man cackled with the wisdom of life's experience. "Dukakis will concern himself first and foremost with U.S. interests."

The disappointed correspondent turned to another village elder, Stefan Konstantinos, leader of the rural municipality. The gray, wrinkled Stefanou, referring to Michael Dukakis as Mikhalis in the local fashion, said:

"Here we would like both Mikhalises—the American and the Soviet—to tackle the fate of the world wisely."

Things would indeed certainly be safer that way.

Companies Agree on Computer Cooperation
LD2408152288 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Blueprints for the establishment of three Soviet-American firms to devise computer programs lay the groundwork for further bilateral cooperation in this field.

Agreement to this effect has been reached during the recent visit to the United States by a Soviet delegation.

Aleksandr Vasenkov of the State Committee of the USSR for Computer Technology and Information who was on the delegation told TASS that protocols on the intention to set up joint ventures on Soviet territory had been signed by the American companies Database, Software Products International and Micropro and the science and production amalgamation Gorsistematekhnika (Kiev), the Institute for Information at the USSR Academy of Sciences and the State Committee of the USSR for Computer Technology and Information.

The ventures will be engaged in making databases and software. Their products will be marketed in the USSR, the United States and third countries.

Vasenkov said that the American side's interest was due to the possibility to enter the vast Soviet market and the aspiration to develop cooperation in programming and information science.

"Our country possesses highly skilled program engineers. The joint ventures will enable the Soviet Union not only to obtain profits in hard currency, but also to develop up-to-the-level programs for personal computers the number of which inside the country is to exceed one million by 1990."

Vasenkov said that seminars were scheduled to be held in the Soviet Union and the United States before the year's end to be followed by the signing of founding documents.

China

Zhao Ziyang Meets U.S. Party Delegations

LD2408163088 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Beijing August 24 TASS—Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, met with a delegation of the Republican and Democratic Parties of the USA, who arrived on a visit in China.

The leader of the Communist Party of China pointed out that both the Democrats and the Republicans had made a great contribution to the development of ties between the PRC and the USA. Both American parties are friendly to China, he stressed.

Zhao Ziyang said that since the time of signing of the Shanghai Communique, bilateral contacts had broadened and voiced hope for their further positive development. In his words, if unfavourable factors existing in the Chinese-American relations are overcome this would make it possible to stabilise the bilateral contacts.

In the course of the meeting, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO said today, the general secretary of the Communist Party of China Central Committee touched upon the terms for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting and briefed the American guests on the course of the reform in the PRC.

Kazakh Delegation Visits PRC, Signs Agreements

LD2408155888 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Excerpt] The visit of a Kazakh SSR delegation to the PRC ended with the signing of an agreement on goods exchanges between the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in China, and the Kazakh SSR, to the value of 40 million Swiss francs. The agreement was signed in the city of Urumqi, the administrative center of Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, XINHUA reports.

The Kazakhstan delegation held talks with the leaders of the autonomous region on trade, economic, and technical cooperation. The sides signed agreements and protocols on cooperation in the field of textiles, the light and chemical industries, engineering, power engineering, geology, and the mining of nonferrous metals.

In the past few years, frontier trade between China and the USSR has increased considerably. Xinjiang exports cotton and woolen textiles to the USSR, as well as manufactures, other light industry goods, and agricultural and associated goods. The Soviet side supplies the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region with rolled steel, timber, cement, motor vehicles, and domestic refrigerators. [passage omitted]

Li Zewang-Led Amity Group Visits Latvia

OW2508010288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] A delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-USSR Friendship Association, headed by Li Zewang, vice chairman of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, visited the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic on the Baltic Sea coast.

In an interview with local reporters, the Chinese delegation leader praised the increased contacts between China and the Soviet Union in various fields as beneficial to both sides. He said that China has watched closely the progress of reforms in the Soviet Union, studying and trying to learn from them.

Concludes Tour

OW2508055288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Report on speeches by Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and Li Zewang, head of a Chinese delegation and vice president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, at a meeting in Moscow on 22 August]

[Text] Dear Chinese listeners: A delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, led by Li Zewang, former Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union and president [as heard] of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, concluded its visit to our country. In Moscow on 22 August, members of the delegation met with leaders of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. Academician Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, extended a warm welcome to the Chinese guests. He said:

Although your visit is short, you have seen the ongoing reforms in various aspects of life in our country, which are similar to those being carried out in China. The Soviet people are closely following your experiences in the hope that they can use everything beneficial to them in the course of reform. I believe your visit to our country is beneficial in this regard. I hope you have felt the Soviet people's friendship and respect for the Chinese people and that you will tell people of various walks of life about all this on your return to China.

In conclusion, Comrade Tikhvinskiy stated: I wish the members of the Chinese delegation a good return trip, good health, and success in promoting Soviet-Chinese friendship.

In reply, Li Zewang, head of the Chinese delegation, spoke at the meeting:

[Begin Li recording] In visiting the Soviet Union this time, our delegation has had two tasks to carry out. One has been to convey to the Soviet people the Chinese people's friendly feelings for them, and the other has been to learn from and understand the achievements and experiences of the Soviet Union in socialist construction, especially your advanced experiences in economic and political restructuring. We do not know yet how well we have carried out the two tasks and how we should be graded—1, 2, or 3. However, my personal opinion, with which some members of our delegation may not agree, is that we have reaped a bumper harvest and are going home with fruitful results. [end recording]

'Weekly Roundup' Reports Sino-Soviet Relations

Officials To Discuss Cambodia

OW2508010388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 23 Aug 88

[From the "Weekly Roundup of Soviet Press Reports on China"]

[Text] The Soviet central newspapers have carried reports on a press briefing held by the Soviet Foreign Ministry at its Press Center, announcing a Soviet-Chinese vice ministerial work meeting on the Cambodian issue to be held in Beijing from 27 August. Representing the Soviet side will be Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev.

Growth in Trade Reported

OW2508042288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 23 Aug 88

[From the "Weekly Roundup of Soviet Press Reports on China"]

[Text] Sino-Soviet trade and economic relations have witnessed increased growth in recent years, said EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in an article entitled "USSR, China Expand Cooperation."

The newspaper said: Soviet-Chinese trade volume in 1986 topped R1.8 billion and increased more than 10 times over that in 1981. Bilateral trade volume agreed upon for this year will also reach this level.

The newspaper stressed that, in reality, commodity exchanges will even surpass the anticipated level.

Machinery, equipment, and means of transport will constitute roughly 45 percent of Soviet exports to China. The Soviet Union will also export to China a large quantity of nonferrous metals, (?rolled steel), steel pipes, petroleum products, fertilizers, timber, and glass sheets; while China will provide its traditional export commodities, chemical engineering products, consumer goods, and farm produce.

Pricing Reform Analyzed

OW2508054188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 23 Aug 88

[From the "Weekly Roundup of Soviet Press Reports on China"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has carried an article, entitled "The Six Focal Points of Li Yiming." The article cited Li Yiming's six focal points for analyzing the Chinese economic situation. Li Yiming, who is a famous economist and professor at Beijing University, held that price increases are what the Chinese people have to pay in order to ensure the smooth progress of pricing reform. Any measure to artificially curb price rises can slow down progress and will only aggravate the problem. According to Li Yiming, prices should be linked to workers' wages, which should be determined by the economic performance of enterprises. As for office workers, they should be given state subsidies and more opportunities for promotion and wage increases.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary on Moves To Solve Cambodian Problem

BK2508055888 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Commentary by station observer Podorov]

[Text] Negotiations for a solution to the Cambodian problem have continued after the meeting of the four Cambodian parties in Bogor in July. Now taking part in the talks are countries which are members of the Nonaligned Movement. Our commentator Podorov writes:

Personally, I always have profound respect for the Nonaligned Movement's attitude toward the Cambodian problem. This attitude is a fine one because it is neutral and based on good judgment. Let us recall the events taking place in early 1979. In January that year, the Cambodian people, in an uprising and with the assistance of friendly Vietnam, toppled the Pol Pot clique, which is guilty of massacring over 3 million Cambodian people. Cambodia's friends received this news with relief and great happiness. However, Pol Pot's supporters, including those in the West, launched a fierce and unprecedented anti-Vietnam campaign. Also dragged into this campaign was the United Nations, whose majority of voices have allowed the criminals stained with Cambodian people's blood to sit on Cambodia's seat at the United Nations.

Faced with this situation, the Nonaligned Movement acted with reason and did not let itself fall into this trap. Testifying to the careful position of this Movement are the following circumstances:

Since 1979, at every summit of the Nonaligned Movement, Cambodia's seat has been left vacant and will not be occupied by any parties until the Cambodian problem

is resolved. When they clearly realize that all the ways to resolve the Cambodian problem, except the one for a peaceful solution, will lead to an impasse, all the parties will turn to the Nonaligned Movement. Because of its high international prestige and its attitude based on good judgment on a solution to the Cambodian problem, the Nonaligned Movement has become the most appropriate mediator. All Cambodian parties most ardently desire that the Movement take part in their talks.

The first round of talks took place last week at the office of the Nonaligned Movement in Harare where, along with representatives of the PRK and three opposing Cambodian parties, official representatives of Zimbabwe, Cuba, India, Indonesia, and Vietnam met and discussed a solution to the Cambodian problem. These officials will also take part in the second round of talks among Cambodian parties. The time and place of this meeting have already been set. It will be in Jakarta on 17 October.

However, before this date, with the agreement of all parties involved in the Cambodian conflict, the Cambodian problem will become a major issue on the agenda of the meeting of Nonaligned countries' foreign ministers. This meeting will open in a few days in Nicosia, capital of Cyprus.

As Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas recently said, at the meeting in Nicosia a special committee on a solution to the Cambodian problem first should be set up within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement. As we have seen, the Cambodian dialogue is moving steadily. A working group, made up of the four Cambodian parties, will meet on 17 October. On 5 November, there will be a meeting in Paris between Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the most influential leader of the opposing group. At the same time, other parties are also discussing ways to resolve the Cambodian problem. For example, on 27 August, on the same issue, there will be a meeting in Beijing between Chinese and Soviet deputy foreign ministers. It is difficult to predict how things will turn out, but at present the development of events has generated hope.

Lao Party Delegation Visits USSR 11-22 Aug

PM2408100588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] a delegation of LPRP provincial committee secretaries visited the Soviet Union 11-22 August. The Lao comrades studied the CPSU's experience of operating under the conditions of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the reform of the political system, and the further democratization of the party and society. Meetings and talks were held at CPSU Central Committee departments, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, and some primary party organizations in Moscow Oblast.

The delegation made a trip to the Tajik SSR, where it was received at the republic Communist Party Central Committee and familiarized itself with the activities of a number of CPSU obkoms and raykoms.

Malaysian Minister Urges More East Bloc Trade

PM2508080788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Expanding Trade Ties"]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 9 Aug—Only expanding the market and changing the style of trade will enable the developing countries to resist the increasing protectionism by the major capitalist countries, Rafidah Aziz, the Malaysian minister of trade and industry, believes. Stepping up trade ties with the USSR and other socialist countries provides great opportunities for this, she stated.

Protectionist barriers do not enable international trade to develop on a fairer basis. Malaysia and the other ASEAN countries encounter unfairness in trade with the United States, Japan, and Australia. It is a paradox but it is specifically these major states which are believed to be the most important trading partners of the region's countries. They are resorting to open, discriminatory practices, R. Aziz said.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Army, Opposition Operations Reported

LD2408133788 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 24 TASS—A caravan with arms and ammunition which arrived in the Afghan Province of Laghman was intercepted by an Afghan Army unit near Shamanheyl [name as received] village.

The news about the caravan was received by the unit's command from the local residents who later helped to find it and neutralize its guards.

Ten rebels accompanying the caravan were killed in the battle. Small anti-government groups were defeated by Afghan troops in Badakhshan and Paktia Provinces.

The city of Gardeyz came under another rocket shelling on Tuesday. Dozens of rocket projectiles blew up in the city and its environs. A woman and a five-year-old child were killed and 15 houses were damaged.

Reports reaching here say that internicine war continues among opposition groups belonging to different factions. Twenty-five insurgents were killed and more than 10 were wounded in Herat and Faryab Provinces in one day.

On the initiative of the peasants in Adraskan District, Herat Province, elections to local jirgahs were held in several villages. The people's deputies pledged to defend the interests of their fellow-villagers and contribute to restoring peace and calm in the district.

Afghan Refugees Heed Government, Return
LD2408140188 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 24 TASS—Over 160,000 refugees who had left their homeland earlier, returned from Iran and Pakistan in the past 18 months.

The government creates all conditions for repatriates to switch over to peaceful life in native places. Government bodies provide them with jobs and arrange training. They are given one-time assistance in cash and kind. Returnees are also granted deferment from conscription to the Armed Forces.

On August 23 the Afghan Government adopted a resolution on augmenting the rights of Afghan returnees to receive property commandeered earlier by the state. The policy of the government, quite favourable for repatriation, is ardently welcomed by residents of refugee camps in states bordering on Afghanistan.

However, their desire to return home runs into opposition of the Iranian and Pakistani authorities.

The latest reports about the conditions in which Afghans live abroad were received from Iran. According to these data, refugees living in a camp near the city of Zahedan were told recently to renew their documents for crossing the border, which provoked discontent and unrest. Dozens of people were killed and wounded on both sides as a result of armed clashes between Afghans and units of the corps of "Islamic Revolution Guards". On a decision of local government bodies, refugees were resettled from the camp to areas unsuitable for living.

The policy of authorities aimed against Afghan refugees is backed by anti-government units based in Iran. For instance leaders of the Hezbollah organization spread rumours among refugees that Iran agreed to a ceasefire with Iraq allegedly to "render all-round assistance to 'mujihids' in eliminating the communist regime in Kabul". In this connection refugees are threatened that if they seek to return home, as before, they will be subjected to persecutions and fines.

Leadership Greets Afghan Leaders on National Day
PM2408150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Leading Bodies' Congratulations to Afghan Leaders on Independence Restoration Day"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] To Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

On behalf of the Soviet people, we cordially congratulate the friendly Afghan people on their national holiday—Independence Restoration Day.

The Afghan people are greeting the 69th anniversary of this event at a very crucial time for the destiny of their ancient homeland.

The establishment of Afghanistan as an independent, nonaligned, and neutral state depends on its patriotic efforts and will to restore its unity. This is the aim of the national reconciliation policy, with which the Soviet Union is fully in solidarity. The national reconciliation policy is served by consistent compliance with the Geneva agreements, by which the Soviet and Afghan leaderships are firmly abiding.

Afghanistan's Independence Restoration Day marks the start of the history of mutual relations between our two countries. It was then that the first bricks were laid in the building of good-neighborliness, mutual respect, and mutually advantageous, multifaceted cooperation.

The Soviet Union will continue to firmly and consistently pursue a line toward all-around support for the Afghan leadership's efforts to establish long-awaited peace in the country, and it will provide the necessary help and assistance in restoring and further developing the Afghan national economy.

We wish you and the entire Afghan people peace, happiness, and prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Afghanistan's Kawiani Visits Uzbekistan
LD2408144788 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 1210 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, has completed his familiarization of Uzbekistan. [passage omitted]

Brutents on Policy Toward Yemens, PLO, Jordan
JN2408202888 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 23 Aug 88 p 20

[By Mahbub 'Ali]

[Text] A senior Soviet official has welcomed the unity agreements between the two parts of Yemen. He affirmed his country's positive stand on the unity steps between the governments of the two parts, including the one concerning the movement of Yemeni citizens between the two parts of Yemen through the use of personal identification cards, and the establishment of joint oil investment projects.

In an exclusive statement to AL-ITTIHAD on the conclusion of his visit to Sanaa and Aden yesterday, Karen Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, said: Our stand on this agreement is positive, and I consider it natural within the framework of the cordial relations between the two parts of Yemen. He described this step by the governments of the two parts as very important and one that serves the interests of stability and security and further strengthens the natural relations between them.

Answering a question on the Soviet Union's stand on the establishment of unified Yemen, the Soviet official said this is a Yemeni affair that concerns the Yemenis themselves. However, he added his hope that every development experienced by Yemen will be in the interest of its sons.

He explained that his visit to the YAR falls within the framework of direct contacts between the YAR General People's Congress and the CPSU. He expressed the hope that relations and contacts between the two countries will be promoted within the framework of the exchange of expertise.

The senior Soviet official affirmed that the current intensive Soviet-Palestinian contacts are aimed at activating international efforts to convene an international Middle East peace conference and to coordinate stands between the PLO and the Soviet leadership on the conference. He indicated that these contacts continue at all levels.

The Soviet official welcomed the Palestinian steps to establish a Palestinian government-in-exile. He said we support the steps that serve the Palestine question and contribute toward entrenching the legitimate and just rights of the Palestinian people under the PLO.

As for the Soviet stand on the recent Jordanian move of disengaging its legal and administrative relationship with the occupied West Bank, the CPSU international relations deputy chief noted it is difficult to now discuss this action. He said its results are unclear and that the Palestinian stand on it is not specified. He added, however, that if the Jordanian move consolidates the Palestinian stand, leads to an active and effective Palestinian participation in the international peace conference, and secures further Jordanian support for this direction, then the results of this move will be positive.

Kuwaiti Army Chief of Staff To Visit Late Aug
LD2408125588 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Major-General Mizyad 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sani', chief of the General Staff of the Kuwaiti Armed Forces, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union late in August this year.

The Kuwaiti commander has been invited by Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff and first deputy defense minister of the USSR.

Demichev Receives Departing Egyptian Envoy
LD2408103188 Moscow TASS In English 1015 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Today Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received Salah al-Din Hasan Basyuni, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the USSR, in connection with his departure for home. During the friendly meeting the sides pointed to the desire of the USSR and Egypt for developing further mutual cooperation.

'Muslim Extremists' Provoke Cairo Riots
PM2508080588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Belyakov dispatch: "Riots in Cairo"]

[Text] Cairo, 15 Aug—For 2 days Cairo's 'Ayn Shams district was an arena for riots that were provoked, according to official statements, by Muslim extremists. The police learned Friday evening that approximately 150 extremists had gathered in the Adam Mosque, including several leaders of the underground "Al-Jihad" organization who are being sought on a charge of terrorist activity. Approximately 1,000 policemen and members of the security forces were sent to the mosque. They demanded that those present surrender to the authorities, but the latter refused and barricaded themselves in the mosque. Some residents of the district came to help the beleaguered people. In the ensuing clash, the police used firearms and tear gas. The extremists retaliated with sticks, stones, and gasoline bombs. As a result of the clashes, 2 people died and 48 civilians and 4 policemen were injured. Several cars were also burned. Some 180 people were arrested.

The events in 'Ayn Shams are a far from isolated incident in Egypt. In recent years, Islamic fundamentalism has put down deep roots in the country, and members of underground organizations periodically resort to violence. In the opinion of local academics, the roots of this phenomenon should primarily be sought in the grave problems encountered every day by the majority of Egyptians. Thus, 20 percent of the able-bodied population is in the grip of unemployment. They are mainly young people. Prices are rising by an average of 25 percent a year. There is an acute shortage of inexpensive housing. Social misfortune thus pushes a certain section of the population into extreme positions.

Officials See Indian Admiral Off on Tour

PM2408095988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 88 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "On a Trip Around the Country"]

[Text] Admiral D.G. Nadkarni, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and chief of the Indian naval staff, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, left 19 August for a trip around the country.

The guest and his retinue were seen off at Sheremetyevo airport by S.F. Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and USSR first deputy defense minister; Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister; and other officials.

The send-off party included P.K. Budwar, plenipotentiary minister at the Indian Embassy in the USSR.

The Indian and Soviet state flags were flown at the airport and an honor guard was formed on the airfield.

Yazov Receives Nadkarni

LD2508202888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Kiev, 24 Aug (TASS)—Jayant Ganpat Nadkarni, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and chief of the naval staff of the Republic of India, is visiting the USSR at the invitation of Sergey Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and first deputy USSR defense minister. Today Admiral Nadkarni went by sea from Sevastopol to the resort of Yalta. Many sanatoriums, convalescent homes, holiday hotels, and tourist spots are located on this part of the shore of the warm Black Sea.

In Yalta, Adm J.G. Nadkarni was received by Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister. During the conversation, questions of mutual interest were discussed. The USSR defense minister gave a dinner in honor of the Indian guest. [passage omitted]

In the evening, Adm J.G. Nadkarni and those accompanying him returned to Sevastopol.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Quadripartite Meeting Opens in Brazzaville

LD2408225588 Moscow TASS in English 2232 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Brazzaville August 24 TASS—The quadripartite conference on the problems of South Africa opened in the afternoon here today. The delegations of Cuba, Angola, the USA and the RSA will discuss questions in connection with the granting of independence to Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. A mixed commission for monitoring the implementation of the agreements reached is expected to be set up at this meeting.

Further on Talks

PM2408095588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent M. Pavlov dispatch: "Talks To Resume"]

[Text] Luanda—The next round of the quadripartite talks between Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States will be held in Brazzaville 24-26 August, according to an announcement by the People's Republic of Angola Ministry of External Relations.

One of the central questions at the meeting will be the discussion of the schedule for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola which, according to the Geneva agreement, must be submitted before 1 September. Observers link the forthcoming meeting primarily with the granting of independence to Namibia in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 and the guaranteeing of Angola's security and territorial integrity. This also depends largely on the RSA which, according to a communique issued by the Angolan Army (FAPLA) General Staff, did not engage in combat operations against subunits of the people's armed forces of the People's Republic of Angola fighting against the internal enemy, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Consequently, FAPLA succeeded in destroying more than 200 armed UNITA bandits and capturing 7 of them in the period between 8 and 16 August. Furthermore, about 90 automatic weapons, 13 grenade launchers, much other combat equipment and military supplies, and a vast quantity of ammunition have been captured from the enemy.

As a result of combat operations conducted in various Angolan provinces, 187 civilian residents have been released, but there were also 55 killed and 27 wounded. FAPLA has likewise suffered losses: 57 killed, 98 wounded, and 5 missing in action.

Petrovskiy Begins Working Visit to Nigeria

LD2408161988 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy began a working visit to Nigeria today.

His schedule provides for meetings with the country's leadership and discussions at the Nigerian Foreign Ministry on a broad range of topical international issues.

CPSU Sends Greetings to Zambian Party Congress

PM2508095788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

["CPSU Central Committee Message to Zambian Party Conference"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] To the 10th General Conference of the United National Independence Party [UNIP] (Republic of Zambia).

Dear comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee sends cordial greetings to the delegates to the 10th UNIP General Conference. The conference will be a major event in Zambian life. The decisions you adopt will be for the party and people a program for the development and renewal of Zambian society.

Communists and all Soviet people regard with sincere sympathy the efforts by the Zambian people and their party to take Zambia forward along the path of independence and national and social progress.

"Frontline" Zambia's militant solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, who are upholding their right to freedom and human dignity, and your country's courageous rebuff to attacks and pressure on the part of South African racists and their accomplices have earned it the respect that it deserves.

The CPSU values the support UNIP and the Zambian public are giving to the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy, which aptly reflects the humanitarian nature of the restructuring of all spheres of the Soviet people's life that is taking place in the USSR. We note with satisfaction the coincident positions of our countries and parties on the basic problems of present-day international life.

The Soviet Union cherishes the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and UNIP and is in favor of further developing them.

We wish the delegates to the 10th UNIP General Conference successful and fruitful work.

The CPSU Central Committee.

Mali National Assembly Delegation Departs

PM2508074988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Flies Out"]

[Text] On 18 August a Republic of Mali National Assembly delegation headed by S. Diarra, National Assembly president, left the USSR. It had been on an official visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

East Europe

Work Resumes at Mines in Polish Silesia

LD2408215088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] The conflict that emerged in Poland a week ago is continuing. In a number of collectives where a minority tried to dictate their policy to the majority—forcing illegal strikes on them—reason has finally triumphed. Our correspondent Vasiliy Lesovik reports from Poland:

[Begin recording] [Lesovik] Work has already resumed at two mines in Silesia. The groups of strikers have removed their pickets from the gates. Brief strikes in Poznan and Wroclaw have also been stopped. Public transport has been resumed in Szczecin.

The attempt by extremists from the former so-called Solidarity association to start a chain reaction of strikes across the country has not generated the kind of success they wanted. In a number of collectives penetrated by the troublemakers, the latter have been rebuffed. The situation in the country as a whole, however, remains complex. Strikes continue at coal mines, in the port of Szczecin, at the Gdansk shipyard, and at the merchant marine port. Two production shops at the Stalowa Wola steel combine are at a standstill.

No Pole has any doubt that the strikes are political rather than economic. This was also openly admitted by Mr Walesa at his meeting with representatives of the press. He declared that the chief objective was to use the strikes in order to legalize the so-called former Solidarity trade union, which, as is known, was disbanded as an overtly extremist organization directed against the socialist state order in Poland.

The PZPR Central Committee Politiburo met to assess the situation in the country. The party called on all workers, trade unions, and all communists to display realism in appraising the situation and to come forward resolutely in favor of restoring the the country to normal.

What the PZPR Central Committee Politburo is calling for is, with even greater insistency, demanded by many among the Polish public. Here are several examples of

statements—brief, emotional, sometimes quite categorical—by people having nothing to do with the strikes, as well as those who are directly involved in the situation.

[First unidentified speaker, in Polish fading into Russian translation] No one is starving in Poland. Our life is hard; this is clear. Quite an abnormal situation has taken shape: We feel too much pressure from the outside, political interference. This is not an economic issue anymore, it is a political issue.

[Second unidentified speaker, in Polish fading into Russian translation] There are some people who are manipulating these workers in order to bring our country to the brink of an abyss. I believe that this problem should be solved decisively. With winter approaching, what are we going to do without fuel? No one will give us money from abroad. We should earn it by honest work.

[Third unidentified speaker, in Polish fading into Russian translation] Who does gain from it? On whose mill is this water poured? I do not think that it is for the benefit of the miner who earns twice as much as I, a light-industry worker. But we do work. Resolute measures are needed in the interest of society as a whole.

[Lesovik] I cited only a few statements by the rank-and-file. The press, radio, and television, reporting on the situation in the country today, quote and cite them on the air by the dozens. [end recording]

Katowice Strikes Continue

LD2408211788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] According to PAP reports, in Katowice Voivodship illegal strikes by a part of the labor collectives are continuing at a number of coal mines. At the same time it is noted that disquiet is growing among the broad masses of the working people in connection with the threat the strikes are creating for the coal mining and for the enterprises' property. At the Andaluzja mine the second shift of miners decided to begin work. The miners dismantled the barbed-wire obstacles set up by the strikers and entered the territory of the mine.

A 1-day illegal strike at the wagon-repair works in Wroclaw has ended. In Szczecin the strikers who had occupied two tram depots and one bus depot, under pressure from those who wanted to resume work and after the intervention of the law enforcement forces, freed the buildings they had seized. As a result, normal work resumed on some routes.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has sent a letter to all party members. [passage omitted]

PZPR Politburo Views Party Weaknesses

PM2208134188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Aug 88 p 3

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has emphasized at a regular session the important role of the work by primary party organizations in labor collectives and their efforts to ensure the working people's vital interests.

It is the party's duty to hold a constant dialogue with labor collectives, to heed their opinion, and to remove sources of discontent and misunderstanding, a report on the session published in the Polish press states. Party organizations must react keenly to all shortcomings.

The labor collective's voice must be the starting point for the sensible settlement of disputes and difficult problems—a settlement that takes account of state and economic interests, as well as the enterprise' potential. There must be no wage increases not substantiated by the level of output and labor productivity. Strike blackmail, which is accompanied by appeals to recreate the situation of the period of total disorganization in the country's life, can only deepen the economic difficulties and slow the processes of reform and national accord.

The defense of the population's basic interests is a most important duty of the party and the authorities in a socialist state. There can be no return to anarchy and past structures, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo emphasized.

There are still many weaknesses in party work, including the use of campaigns and sketchiness in the approach to many problems locally and at enterprises. There are still too few valuable initiatives in this sphere to encourage the activeness both of party members and of the entire population. The party at all levels must react with special attention to discomforts in the life of the population and to shortcomings—sometimes very serious ones—in the work of certain organs in the administrative, trade, and services fields.

The party has made a critical assessment of certain decisions and methods of realizing the second stage of economic reform. Areas for necessary changes, particularly in the sphere of prices and incomes, are being studied on the basis of the economic results of the first half-year. The working people's living conditions will be examined attentively at the next PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Polish 'Black Propaganda' Criticized

PM2408155988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Removing the Clothing of Penitence. Polish Press on Black Propaganda"]

[Text] Warsaw—At a news conference J. Urban, the Polish Government's press spokesman, shared his impressions of letters sent to him since the previous news conference, at which he spoke about such a serious problem for the country as the emigration of young people and specialists with higher and secondary education. In short, about the "brain drain." The writers of the letters complain, trying to justify the departures for abroad. Life is hard. The increased material needs are not satisifed. Moans about life are seen as an everyday detail of life.

Such is the type of behavior that has arisen in recent years: to complain and moan. It is considered bad form, you read in the Polish newspapers, to see life in normal colors, to hope for successful economic reforms and socialist renewal programs, and to help incipient innovation along. I recall a sentence spoken by J. Urban at that same news conference. The more someone complains, the more people trust him.

What is up? Does Polish reality seem so catastrophic? Of course, there are many difficulties resulting from the crisis times, there is a large foreign debt, inflation processes are continuing, and prices are rising. But the crisis itself has been surmounted, and the country has lifted itself up off the economic rock bottom, as people say here, restructuring itself in a new way, renewing itself in everything—from the economy to culture—and developing democratic institutions.

Yes, prices are rising, and much is being said and written about this, but earnings too are growing. Somehow, however, this fact remains in the shadows. "To Work or Complain?" is the title of an article in the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA. It points out that many prefer the latter, for that is easier. The article cites the example of the team system of labor organization, which is becoming increasingly widespread in industry. Thanks to this system, people have begun earning (and not just receiving) twice, three times, and even four times as much as yesterday. However, as one of those who is inclined to complain rather than act admits, in this case you have to slog, for money does not fall into your hands.

It is this, by the way, that does not suit those who like to refer to the Japanese "economic miracle." They would like to see such a "miracle," but only if it somehow comes about by itself, so that there is no need to work up a sweat. For the time being, the newspaper writes, those who await an "economic miracle" prefer not to earn money but to demand increased wages to the accompaniment of moans about "hard times."

I confess I like reading articles by the excellent publicist Z. Kaluzynski in the weekly POLITYKA. Here is his latest work: "Thoughts at a Session of Helplessness." He describes a session of the National Culture Council's cinema section and provides his own commentary on the cinema figures' speeches. They quite unconcernedly paint a picture of cinematography today in the blackest colors imaginable. A well-known director sounds the alarm: There is no money to make movies. They still do not know if it will be possible to produce even 10 movies this year (the usual figure is 35). Pardon me, the critic marvels, for the cinematographer too has now gone over to the conditions of the economic reform and can earn funds for himself and get credit from the bank. The new law on cinematography, for which people in this field strove so persistently, hands over everything to movie directors, and on a hitherto unprecedented scale. All that is required is that you work—there are no controls.

It was then, the author of the article notes, that movie workers panicked. It turned out that not so many masters could be found who are able to make successful movies, including box-office successes. The state will no longer pay for mediocre and hack writing. Everything depends on the cinematographers themselves, not on subsidies. Get cracking, like in Hollywood, which you used to contrast with movie-making conditions in Poland. A situation has been created of which you dreamed for decades. Why, in that case, these pitiful groans? Do you not know the banks' addresses...?

A very instructive read...

Meanwhile, reality provides many examples of how people are learning to work well under the new conditions. I have before me an issue of the newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI containing a conversation with T. Banach, director of the motor vehicle plant in Starachowice. The well-known economic planner says that, having adopted a policy of scientific and technical progress, the enterprise collective has begun producing powerful new trucks which take bad roads in stride. Two Star-266 vehicles recently took part in a very difficult race over the Paris-Dakar route, a large part of which passes through uninhabited desert and mountains. Some 115 trucks of the world's best firms started the race, but only 30 reached the finish, including both the Starachowice vehicles. Although last, they nonetheless made it, were not put out of commission, and stood up to the crazy race. The Starachowice engineers were not interested in the result of this game. It was important for them to know how the vehicles behaved under extreme conditions and to know what to pay attention in order to further improve the vehicle.

The consequences of the interview were amazing, the newspaper recalls. Certain mass media... took offense! How can you write about successes? It is not proper, they said, and maybe not patriotic. The times of propagandizing successes are over, they said. On the other hand, a

different kind of propaganda is in full swing. The newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY published with commentaries the "Appeal of 30 Intellectuals" which they sent to the Polish Sejm, the Polish episcopate, and, of course, to Western radio stations and agencies. It begins with the words: "The Polish crisis continues." It is a striking document and a typical example of black propaganda based on demagoguery, hopelessness, and lack of faith in socialism.

Here it is appropriate to turn to the speech of M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at a voivodship party committee plenum in Jelenia Gora. It elucidates the situation well.

The class enemy in radio stations, which broadcast in Polish, and other means of ideological penetration, M. Rakowski said, is systematically having a more or less successful impact on public awareness. The enemy's task is to sow in people's minds and souls pessimism and lack of faith in the possibility of surmounting the existing difficulties under conditions of socialism. This activity is destructive and subversive because its purpose is to stifle the people's desire to work well in the sphere of producing material benefits and to be socially active. The same thing is also being done by the political enemy entrenched within the country. This enemy supports Western economic sanctions and continues to be guided by the principle "the worse, the better." Every step of ours and every decision is not just criticized, it is attacked ferociously. Everything is being done to undermine confidence in the socialist state. Criticism is intensifying as we advance and achieve successes. The philosophy of hopelessness and impotence is gaining currency. In recent years whining has even become a national trait, as it were. Everyone complains: both those who live in comfort, and there are many such people in the country, and those who are having a really hard time. There are figures here who suggest to the people that they are doomed to martyrdom and suffering. That there is no point in straining yourself at work, for nothing will change.

In this way the political enemy is trying to paralyze public awareness, M. Rakowski emphasized. His endeavors should not be overestimated, but nor must we sit with arms folded. We must fight demagoguery and malicious intent and expose sowers of poisonous "philosophy." The most important thing here is not to be indifferent and tolerant but to remove the clothing of penitence which some people on the party aktiv donned during the crisis period and have kept on. We must take up offensive positions. The political enemy only criticizes, only denies. He does not have a positive program and has nothing to his name.

An increasingly palpable rebuff is being dealt to sentiments of decadence and pessimism. I am following with attention and sympathy the activity of Professor A. Krawczuk, Poland's new minister of culture and art and a well-known specialist in ancient literature and history. He is in charge of a very difficult sphere. It is considered quite improper to speak of achievements here. "It is the custom" always to be displeased with everything. But the professor stands up for Polish culture. "We are in a strange situation," he writes in the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA. "When you talk with foreign guests, and you now encounter them almost every day, you hear words of admiration: 'What vivid, diverse culture you have!' I do not have time to familiarize myself with all that Warsaw and Krakow, for example, have to offer. But when I have dealings with our creative workers and cultural figures, when I read our press, I am plunged into an abyss of sorrow. Everything is pitch-dark and black! Everything is collapsing! Our country is a cultural desert!"

...I have an acquaintance from the business world in Warsaw. He lives in abundance—only there are no children. The two-story detached house is full of expensive antiques, furniture, and electronic equipment. When we meet, he usually answers the question "How's life?" by saying: "Is this really life!" And he complains: "You know what the situation is like here. No prospects. Take fuel, for example. My wife and I are simply in despair. We have two cars, and the price of gasoline is going up all the time."

I recently met my acquaintance once again. We had hardly greeted each other before he started complaining, this time about difficulties with supplies. It turned out that his friend had founded a furniture firm, but he had a problem with raw materials. "What kind of life is this?" he said, smiling sadly. "Impasse situations everywhere. You simply get tired of all this."

He said that he and his wife were going on vacation. Where? "To Italy," my acquaintance replied. "Can you really vacation in our country?"

Leadership Greets Romania on National Day

PM2408111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Leading Bodies' Liberation Jubilee Congratulations to Romanian Leaders"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania.

Esteemed comrades,

On the Romanian national holiday—the day of liberation from the fascist yoke and the 44th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution and social and national liberation—we send heartfelt congratulations and best wishes to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of Romania, and the entire fraternal Romanian people.

Communists and working people of the Soviet Union, consistently implementing the course of restructuring and revolutionary renewal of society, attach special significance to deepening collaboration with the socialist countries—a priority sphere of Soviet foreign policy. We are building relations with Romania and its working people on the sound basis of equality and respect for sovereignty, mutual advantage, international solidarity, and responsibility to our countries' working people and the common cause of socialism and peace.

The USSR and Romania possess mighty potential for cooperation in resolving the fundamental tasks of socialism and improving people's living standards. The joint efforts to implement the accords reached as a result of the Soviet-Romanian summit talks in May 1987 are geared to this potential's fullest exploitation. An important part in the development of mutual ties is played by socialist economic integration, and the activity of our collective organization CEMA is currently geared to deepening and improving it.

The Soviet Union and Romania are actively involved in elaborating and implementing the dynamic, enterprising policy of the socialist community countries which was further developed in the decisions of the recent Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference. We express confidence that Socialist Romania, acting with the USSR and the other allied states, will continue to make an active contribution to establishing new political thinking in the modern world, to disarmament, and to the advancement of the all-European process.

We wish the Communists and all working people of fraternal Romania success in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and in developing the economy and improving the people's well-being, happiness, and prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Yazov Greets Milea

PM2408112388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov liberation day greetings message to Romanian National Defense Minister Colonel General Vasile Milea]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I send you and all Romanian fighters cordial congratulatioons on the occasion of your national holiday—the day of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke and the 44th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation.

Soviet fighters assess highly the relations of friendship and cooperation that have taken shape between our countries. They express confidence that the close collaboration between the USSR and Romania and between our countries' armed forces will continue to develop and grow stronger for the good of both peoples in the interests of the defense of peace and socialism.

On the day of your national holiday I wish Romanian fighters successes in their military labor to strengthen Romania's defense capability and the fraternal alliance between the Warsaw Pact states.

With communist greetings

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Hungarian Media Highlight Gypsy Issues

PM2408143988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by L. Yegorov: "Hungary: Problems of the Gypsy Population"]

[Text] In recent years the Hungarian press and television have been increasingly raising questions connected with the problems of the country's Gypsy population. The Gypsy ethnic group currently comprises 3.5 percent of the 10.6 million Hungarian population.

There has not been much interest in the Gypsy question in Hungary since World War II. It was thought that since the Constitution guarantees all the country's inhabitants general human rights, the Gypsies could not have any special problems. But the problems accumulated. The point is that many Gypsies did not receive or did not want parcels of land. At a later date, under the influence of the industrialization process, a considerable number of Gypsies were uprooted from their habitat and formed a broad stratum with no place in society. To a considerable extent it was this stratum that became the "supplier" of the criminal element. Suffice it to say that the crime rate among Hungarian Gypsies is 2.5 times higher than the average for the country.

Naturally, all this is bound to worry the public. In 1961 and 1984 the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo adopted decisions intended to improve the life of the Gypsy population. Much has changed since then. Now, according to MTI data, 85 percent of Gypsy men and 50 percent of Gypsy women have permanent jobs, although they are often doing auxiliary, unskilled work. Some 90 percent of the Gypsy population has proper housing; whereas 25 years ago 2-3 percent of Gypsy children completed general education, 60 percent are now receiving secondary education. But there are still a number of problems, of course. To continue tackling them a Hungarian National Gypsy Council was set up some time ago with a crime prevention council subordinate to it. A

Hungarian Gypsies' Cultural Union has been founded to protect the ethnic group's interests. The paper CIGANY UJSAG serves the purposes of education and the development of Gypsy culture.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Denial of Cuban Personality Cult Cited

PM2508100988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed report in feature "prepared by Ye. Zhurabayev" under the rubric "World of Socialism: Day by Day": "F. Castro on Personality Cult"]

[Text] Cuban television has shown Fidel Castro's news conference at the end of a visit to Ecuador.

Replying to a question on the personality cult in socialist countries and in Cuba in particular, the Cuban leader emphasized that "not one monument has been set up and not one street has been named for Fidel Castro" in the Republic, nor are his portraits on display in establishments.

If what you mean by personality cult is one-man power, F. Castro continued, it does not exist in Cuba. There is a collective leadership. But if what you mean by personality cult is the reelection of leaders, then it is possible to speak of the existence of this phenomenon everywhere. Mitterrand has been reelected in France, Mrs Thatcher has been elected three times in Britain, and Felipe Gonzalez has been reelected in Spain. Then it is also possible to claim that there is a personality cult in the church, since the pope stays in office a very long time.

Argentine President Alfonsin Interviewed

PM2408130788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina by special correspondents V. Arkhangelskiy and V. Nesterov in Buenos Aires: "Raul Alfonsin: To Struggle Jointly for Peace"; date not given]

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires—[Passage omitted] [President Alfonsin] "Gentlemen, I am ready to answer your questions but, before I do so, let me ask you something. How is perestroyka progressing in your country?"

That was the surprising start of our conversation. To begin with, it was difficult to tell who was interviewing whom—we the president, or the president us. He had quite a few questions to ask, including questions about the newspaper.

"People in Argentina, just like everywhere else in the world, are carefully following the restructuring now under way in the USSR," Alfonsin concluded that part of the conversation (and we heard yet again that the Russian word "perestroyka" sounds the same in all other languages). "In my view, this process offers truly revolutionary opportunities. We are following the changes in your country with attention and sympathy."

Finally, it was our turn. We were already taking quick looks at our watches. Time was running out with the speed of "Soccer King" Maradona, and we had not even started on our list of questions.

[Correspondent] Mr President, allow us to take a slight departure from tradition....

[Alfonsin] I think that we have already done this.

[Correspondent] Quite true. You are known in our country as a statesman and politician. But as a person.... Could you introduce yourself to IZVESTIYA's readers?

[Alfonsin] With pleasure. I was born 12 March 19...it was not 1947, nor was it 1927, I cannot quite recall when (Alfonsin joked and, accepting the joke, let us add that the president was 60 years old last year) in the settlement of Chascomus, some 120 km away from Buenos Aires, in a region with the most beautiful lakes producing a lot of lovely fish—pejerrey.

[Correspondent] Where did you go to school?

[Alfonsin] I graduated from a military school, and then from La Plata University. I am a jurist.

[Correspondent] When did you first become politically active?

[Alfonsin] At the age of 18. I joined the Radical Party. I was an adviser on the Chascomus Committee. At age 36 I was elected chairman of the Radical Civic Union's Buenos Aires Provincial Committee, and later became chairman of the party's National Committee. In 1958 I was elected National Congress deputy (until the 1966 military coup). [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr President, what did you do during the time under military regimes?

[Alfonsin] I was in opposition without ceasing my political activity. I am a doctor of law, and I wrote books on topical issues concerning the country's life.

[Correspondent] What would you do if you had to live your life again?

[Alfonsin] I would probably be politically active again, but this time I would start as president of the country (Alfonsin joked) and would end up as adviser in Chascomus.

[Correspondent] How about your family?

[Alfonsin] My wife is Basque by nationality, even though she was born in Argentina. We have six children, three daughters and three sons. And 20 grandchildren already.

[Correspondent] Are you a happy grandfather?

[Alfonsin] Of course. The only point is that, according to an Argentine joke, grandchildren bring the greatest joy to their grandparents when they arrive and...when they depart.

[Correspondent] It is said that everyone has a hobby. Excuse me, but what are the presidential hobbies?

[Alfonsin] Frankly speaking, I have no special hobbies even though, like all Argentines, I like soccer. I am a fan of the "Independente" team.

[Correspondent] And now allow us to move on to more serious questions. You visited our country in 1986....

[Alfonsin] And I recall with great warmth the trip, the cordiality, the welcome, and the hospitality accorded the Argentine delegation.

[Correspondent] You said at that time that the visit was the culmination of the centuries-old history of diplomatic relations between our country and Argentina. Despite the vast distance separating Moscow and Buenos Aires, we have succeeded in building a bridge of friendship uniting our peoples.

[Alfonsin] Yes, that was an important, useful, and fruitful visit. The Soviet leaders and I affirmed our determination to strengthen and develop bilateral relations.

[Correspondent] So the "bridge" is getting stronger?

[Alfonsin] Without any doubt. I consider our relations to be quite good.

[Correspondent] In your view, what are the prospects for the further strengthening of cooperation?

[Alfonsin] There are great opportunities for this. I have just signed a decree on the modernization of the sea port at Bahia Blanca. The Soviet Union is being given the right to modernize and deepen the port. This is an important and necessary contract. I think that the future will produce opportunities to develop our ties and contacts in all spheres. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] At the Kremlin dinner you said: The international community's supreme goal is the right to live, vested in all of us who inhabit the earth. This is also what Soviet people believe. But this is not the only point where our positions coincide or are close to one another. The communique on the results of your visit enshrined shared viewpoints on the most radical questions which perturb mankind.

[Alfonsin] This is exceptionally important—the coincidence of views held by two states' leaderships on basic problems of international politics. We are particularly pleased that the Soviet Union highly values our actions in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

[Correspondent] At present Argentina's weighty voice can be heard at virtually every international forum. Your activity in the Nonaligned Movement and the "Group of Six" is widely known.

[Alfonsin] Argentina's striving in the "Six" and in other international organizations is to further the quest for universal peace and the prevention of a nuclear war which, in my view, could be started by just a simple accident.

[Correspondent] We would like to find out your opinion on the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States and the recent summit meeting in Moscow.

[Alfonsin] The Argentines showed special interest in the meeting between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan aimed at easing international tension. Some time ago I received Mr Lomeyko, the general secretary's special envoy, who briefed me on the results of the meeting and the Soviet Union's specific foreign policy program. Last year I had an opportunity to meet with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze. I am looking forward to a meeting in Buenos Aires with Mikhail Gorbachev, whom we invited to an official visit to Argentina. I hope that he will do this while I am still in power, before the end of 1989. I heard that the general secretary is planning to tour a number of Latin American countries. Briefly speaking, we are interested in developing relations with the Soviet Union. Especially since we have considered it and still consider it an important trade partner.

[Correspondent] Mr Alfonsin, it is well known that you have "broken" the record for a civilian president's presence in the Casa Rosada in the last few years....

[Alfonsin] Please God and knock on wood (our interlocutor joked again, smiling).

[Correspondent] In your view, what are the basic achievements over the last 4 and ½ years, since the military regime was replaced by a democratic form of government?

[Alfonsin] I would answer thus: The most important ones are the consolidation and strengthening of democracy, the defense of human rights, and the freedom in which the country is presently living.

[Correspondent] What are the main problems which the government you head is encountering?

[Alfonsin] These problems are serious and, generally speaking, typical of all Latin American countries. It is necessary to bear in mind that democracy in Argentina was born in conditions of grave economic crisis attributable to the existence of a huge external debt and falling prices on international markets.

[Correspondent] Does the prevailing situation depend largely on international ties?

[Alfonsin] Naturally. At the same time, it must be admitted that, thanks to the Argentine people's extraordinary and selfless efforts, these hardships are being successfully overcome. I hope that when my presidential term runs out I will be able not only to talk about the strengthening and consolidation of democracy but also to say that Argentina is firmly on the path of economic growth. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr President, you spoke of the country's "huge external debt." In offering your solution to this question, you emphasize not only its economic but also its moral and political aspects....

[Alfonsin] This is indeed so. External indebtedness is a most complex problem, not only economically but also sociopolitically and morally, since we are talking about mutual relations between rich countries and their debtors. This, for example, is how I explain it to Europeans. An extremely difficult situation developed in the economy of many countries following World War I, and Hitler and Mussolini took advantage of it to establish fascist regimes. Following World War II, the establishment of democracy in many states also occurred in conditions of serious economic difficulties, but many quite good plans for getting out of the prevailing situation emerged at that time and they were implemented. Consequently, democracy was able to maintain and consolidate its positions. The establishment of democracy in Latin America today is also occurring in conditions of acute economic crisis. A political solution to the external debt problems must be sought in order to prevent the recurrence of past mistakes.

[Correspondent] You visited the Soviet Union in 1975 as member of a National Congress delegation.

[Alfonsin] My first trip, just like the next one, left indelible impressions on me. I was able to visit not only Moscow but also Leningrad, Tashkent, Samarkand, and Volgograd. To be honest, my most vivid impressions are from Leningrad. A most beautiful city. I still remember its amazing palaces. I also liked the other cities, especially Samarkand.

[Correspondent] Mr President, what is your message to IZVESTIYA readers and the whole Soviet people?

[Alfonsin] Greetings and best wishes. We must jointly struggle for peace, and this struggle must be waged in all directions, thus enabling our peoples to rule out any possibilities of involving mankind in a nuclear catastrophe and making it possible to overcome injustice in the world in all its manifestations. [Alfonsin ends]

A president's time is as precious as gold. We expressed thanks for the conversation. We asked permission to be photographed in the office, obtained consent, and were photographed together with President Raul Ricardo Alfonsin of the Republic of Argentina.

The antique clock in the reception hall stood at 1315 hours. The meeting had lasted 45 minutes....

Political & Social

Gatherings, Speeches in Baltic Republics Noted

LD2408121988 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow Auagust 24 TASS—By TASS correspondents reporting from the capitals of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia:

Rallies to mark the anniversary of the non-aggression pact signed by the USSR and Germany on August 23, 1939 were held last night in the three Soviet Baltic republics.

In Riga, several thousand representatives of informal groups gathered near the Statue of Liberty. Speakers at the rally expressed different viewpoints. Some declared that the then Soviet leadership under Josef Stalin ignored rules of international law and elementary ethics.

Others believed that the pact protected the security of Latvia and Estonia, which bordered on the USSR, in the face of the German threat.

Dzintars Pojkans, a 34-year-old Riga resident who took part in the rally, told TASS: "August 23 can hardly be described as the most pleasant day in history.

"The treaty with Nazi Germany did no credit to the Communists, but I don't accept political speculations around that page in history either."

In his opinion, those who were frightened by the first successes of perestroyka, or restructuring, took advantage of the "Baltic card." They were fanning up passions around the so-called blank spaces, he said.

100,000 people gathered in Vingis Park in the capital of Soviet Lithuania, Vilnius. The rally was addressed by prominent scientists, writers, workers of art and other professionals.

The tape recorded speech by the former minister in Lithuania's bourgeois government, Yuozas Urbshis, was made public.

The participants in the rally paid tribute to the memory of the victims who perished under Nazi occupation.

Speakers said that Hitler's Germany violated the non-aggression pact and attacked the Soviet Union. Before that, it had captured the sea port of Klaipeda and contemplated enslaving the entire region.

The Soviet Union was at that time the only real force on whose assistance Lithuania could count.

About 1,500 people held a meeting in one of the parks in Tallinn, the capital of Soviet Estonia. Along with expressing support for the policy of glasnost, or greater openness, and condemning repressions of the Stalin period, speakers made nationalist appeals. Some even called for the deportation of people of non-indigenous nationality from the republic and for its secession from the USSR.

Yuriy Afanasyev, a well-known Soviet historian who heads the Moscow Historical Archive Institute, addressing another meeting in one of Tallinn's biggest halls seating several thousand people, described such remarks as "political adventurism."

"There might be various assessments of the 1939 pact," he said. "But one cannot ignore present-day realities. The reality is that the Estonian economy is so much interconnected with the all-union economy, that mechanical separation will inevitably lead the republic to economic disaster.

"No one in our country denies the republics the right to sovereignty, and the latest developments, above all the 19th national party conference, proved that once again.

"But extremism can only spoil the situation."

The rallies in the Baltic republics showed the enhanced civic activity of the people and their growing interest in history now that its acute problems can be openly discussed thanks to the glasnost policy.

At the same time, one cannot fail to notice destructive nationalist sentiments that benefit only forces opposed to the perestroyka drive.

The realism of thought and responsibility of action constitute a necessary condition for the further development of perestroyka.

Further on 23 Aug Rally in Lithuania

LD2508021688 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Forty-nine years ago, on August the 23d, a nonaggression treaty, widely known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, was signed between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Yesterday, meetings organized by the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka were held in Vilnius, Kaunas, and other Lithuanian towns. The largest meeting took place in Vilnius, in the central park. Unofficial reports place the number of participants at over 100,000. An open-air stand was decorated with a large emblem of the Lituanian Movement for Perestroyka and the national yellow, green, and red-striped flag with black ribbons of mourning attached to both sides. Until quite recently, both the national flag and symbols were banned from public use. Today, however, they have become part and parcel of our daily life. The people came to the meeting carrying national flags of all sizes.

At 7:00 p.m. sharp, the meeting was opened by the psychologist Vytautas Landsbergis, an active member of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka. He began his address by urging the audience to remember in silence the tragic consequences that the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact had on the face of the Baltic and East European states. The floor was then taken by Justinas Marcinkevicius, the much-loved Lithuanian poet. Marcinkevicius said that the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty enabled Hitler to pursue his aggressive policies in the West and occupy practically the whole of Europe, having been guaranteed temporary peace on the Eastern front. According to Justinas Marcinkevicius, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 23 August 1939 should be considered as a tragic mistake in Stalin's foreign policy and the actual beginning of World War II. That is why we unconditionally denounce this pact, emphasized Justinas Marcinkevicius. And he went on:

[Begin Marcinkevicius recording in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] Whatever else politicians, historians, and ideologists might say, one thing is clear: The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact is a repulsive document of international gangsterism, also because it is based on a secret protocol. By the way, historians in Moscow have again announced in the press that they simply cannot find those protocols in the Soviet archives. This is a ridiculous assertion! It is clear that Moscow fails to find what it doesn't want to find and what is not supposed to be found. Well, perhaps the historians of the Baltic republics might come to their aid. The contents of those protocols are no longer secret today. Two dictators secretly shared something that did not belong to either of them: That is the territories of the sovereign neighboring states, who were members of the League of Nations. [end recording]

[Announcer] Justinas Marcinkevicius also proposed that the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the secret protocols and maps should be published by the Soviet central press, and that they should be denounced as a shameless violation of the principles of international law, peace, and humanity. A large part of the speakers spoke of the necessity to restore the historic truth and to review the question of a historian's responsibility to society. Some denounced the past premises of historians in general.

In their turn, several historians emphasized the need for repentance, asserting that it was impossible to restore the historic truth until the spirit of Stalinism and dogmatism was (?not) banished from our life. Historian Gediminas Brodis expressed his desire and determination, on behalf of the younger generation of Lithuanian historians, to be guided by the principles of truth in their research studies. The historic truth may, of course, not be to the liking of everyone, Gediminas Brodis said. Nevertheless, the events of 1940 in Lithuania should be viewed within the context of Soviet-German relations.

[Begin Brodis recording in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] People are no longer satisfied with the traditional concept of the socialist revolution in Lithuania in 1940. These events should be reviewed by a panel of competent researchers in an open, truly scientific, and principled manner. I think that the well-known traits characterizing a revolutionary situation were absent in Lithuania in the forties. How can we speak of an all-national crisis in Lithuania if the state budget was positive, and if the litas, the Lithuanian monetary unit, was one of the strongest currencies in the world?

Nobody doubts that there was a government crisis in Lithuania at that time, but who or what caused it? After all, the former Lithuanian president, Antanas Smetona, did not flee to Germany in fear of people's rule! And neither was the Merkys [last prime minister of independent Lithuania] government of that time overthrown by the Popular Front. The government crisis in Lithuania was organized by the Kremlin, which did not shy away from the use of unhonorable methods. Every single charge made by the Soviet Government in its ultimatum of 14 June 1940, handed in to the Lithuanian Government, was a sheer fabrication and utterly absurd. Neither Lithuania, Latvia, nor Estonia threatened the Soviet Union with war. And the Soviet charges on the kidnapping of Red Army soldiers from Red Army bases in Lithuania were pure fiction. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was the opinion of the young historian Gediminas Brodis. Such an opinion had never been expressed before. During the short intervals between the speeches, the organizers of the meeting would remind the public that money was being collected for the erection of the monument to victims of Stalinist repressions. The memory of the victims of Stalinist and Hitlerite repressions was honored by a minute of silence. Next, Lionginas Sepetys, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, took the floor.

[Begin Sepetys recording in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] We've just honored the memory of the victims of the Stalinist mass repressions. We pledge that a monument will be built to their memory. This monument will perhaps be the most meaningful memorial in our land. I must say quite openly and frankly today that the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party has taken most resolute steps to undo the wrongs, to denounce and declare as anticonstitutional the Stalinist deportations from the Baltic republics of people loyal to Soviet power carried out in June 1941.

Today our hearts are filled with great love for our small land, Lithuania. Our hearts are also filled with great pain and great expectations. Today we denounce both the theory and the practice of the Stalinist and Hitlerite policies, which transcend any limits of good and evil. Our history is what it is. It cannot be changed now. I am deeply convinced that the present Soviet Government, which has launched a policy of perestroyka and democratization, would never have signed a similar agreement, whatever the circumstances. The Soviet Union, which has given up the Stalinist policies of violence, the practice of sham efficiency in the stagnation epoch, and the

unifying approach in the nationalities issue, is sure to become a genuine federal state. Lithuania, like other union republics, should be granted genuine sovereignty. [end recording]

[Announcer] Father Edmundas Sekpuociunas, consecrated but recently, also (?spoke to) the meeting. Edmundas Sekpuociunas was rather nervous and his speech was jerky. Thus not only the nonbelievers, but even the believers sometimes found his speech difficult to follow. As Professor Landsbergis pointed out, it was tinged with dictatorial undertones, whereas we were all united by our opposition to any kind of dictatorship, (?in a common love) for freedom of belief and thought in all spheres of life.

Other speakers at the meeting in Vilnius were the poet Sigitas Geda, the dramatist Kazys Saja, the film director Arunas Jebkunas, and other (?outstanding) leaders of Lithuanian cultural life.

The composer Julas Zrunas, who spoke on behalf of the commission for investigating the Stalinist crimes, called upon Lithuanian citizens to give all support and assistance in the cause of collecting information and documents concerning the Stalinist deportations of Lithuanian people to the remote regions of the Soviet Union in the period between 1941-52. The aim of this commission, Julas Zrunas said, was to make the names of all the victims, as well acts of repression, and the names of the specially grouped (?citizens) of the republic, known to all.

Towards the end of the meeting, Prof Vytautas Landsbergis read the letter signed by 20 U.S. senators to the people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. All those gathered at the meeting then sang the old Lithuanian anthem.

The meeting held in Vingis Park in Vilnius was filmed by Lithuanian television. Tonight a longer (?talk) was broadcast by Lithuanian television networks. (?Our meeting) was also filmed by scores of correspondents including foreign journalists. (?Helping) in the meeting was (name indistinct), a Lithuanian living in (name indistinct). He is the director of the nature conservation agency of the (words indistinct) of the United States.

[Begin recording] This is an unbelievable moment in my life—that they could participate in such a 100,000-person gathering for a meeting expressing their will to live, to live among free people, expressing their will to contribute to the rest of the world. And I can't express in words what any human being could really see and feel when you are among a freedom-loving people. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was (name indistinct), speaking after the meeting at the (?house) in Vingis Park (?yesterday). [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Notables Discuss Decree on Rallies

LD2408113488 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Report on interviews with Algimantas Cekuolis, editor in chief of GIMTASIS KRASTAS, and Kestutis Lipeika, chairman of the Bar of Lithuanian Lawyers, by correspondent Vladas Dobilas and an unidentified reporter, respectively; date and place of interviews not given]

[Excerpts] [Dobilas] New legislative act that came into force at the end of July: In fact, it is two decrees, one adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the other, which appeared a few days later, was issued by the Lithuanian parliament. The latter was mostly an elaboration on the all-union decree. What does the decree deal with? It concerns with the order of holding meetings, rallies, and demonstrations. [passage omitted]

Now, this decree came as a surprise to some people, and it is being widely discussed now. How do people of various walks of life assess the new decree?

Here is the opinion of Algimantas Cekuolis, editor in chief of the Lithuanian weekly GIMTASIS KRASTAS, one of the most popular papers in Lithuania. [passage omitted] Although he was extremely busy when I went to see him, he managed to find time for the following interview:

[Begin recording] [Dobilas] At the end of last July, a decree was passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, a decree on meetings, demonstrations, and rallies. Why do you think this decree was passed exactly at this time?

[Cekuolis] At first, the proliferation of meetings and demonstrations in the USSR quickly has gone up a lot, but mainly I think it was because of context of Karabakh and Armenia. They are really out of hand.

Here in Lithuania we do not have situation similar to Karabakh situation, and I hope we will never have. Here it is different: We have no racist fanaticism, no territorial claims to our neighbors, and our neighbors don't have to our territory. So, it is strange having that bill here in Lithuania.

[Dobilas] Now, on the one hand, there is this bill, and on the other there are the resolutions of the 19th party conference: There is the resolution on glasnost, the resolution on the democratization of the society. Do you find that those two things are compatible?

[Cekuolis] No. I see that there is contradiction between the process of democratization in the USSR, the policy of glasnost in the USSR, which is the arch action, and that bill. I see that bill like the provisional one, similar. There was another one about the progressive taxation of income of cooperative workers and cooperatives, and

that bill was abolished in about 2 or 3 months. I hope that when the situation in Karabakh will be normalized one way or another that bill will be canceled.

[Dobilas] Now, let's get to the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka. Do you think there is any connection between this bill in Lithuania and the Lithuanian movement?

[Cekuolis] No, Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka is not the opposition, is not against the Soviet power. What we want is to push the perestroyka further and faster. Of course, some fuctioneers dislike it because it means pushing them. So, it is normal practice, (?obviously it is a struggle) loyal, keeping things in order. They are against our pushing, we are accused of pushing, so nothing's new in it. [laughter]

[Dobilas] Some time ago...was it a month ago?..the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka arranged a meeting against this bill and which had not been adopted at that time. Now, what is the platform of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka going to be concerning this bill? Are you going to ask for permission or are you going to ignore it, to boycott it?

[Cekuolis] So far, we are going not to ignore it. Being good citizens, we'll be asking the permission here in the capital, in Vilnius, in countryside, too, and we will see who gets tired first. We have got already practical experience to see how this new bill works. And actually, 5 minutes ago here in the, in my office, in my newspaper, were two young people who got permission to start Hyde Park Corner, like in London, to establish one corner in the old city of Vilnius, a corner for open discussions. They asked for 1-day discussions and they got permission for 1 day. Plans are to have that place permanently like it is in Hyde Park. And I think that that kind of permission could be extended to permanent corner.

[Dobilas] And do you see how it goes?

[Cekuolis] No. In the meeting with Mr Yakovlev, or Comrade Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU [title as heard], I talked about that bill that, because elections are coming to the local soviets, it is incompatible with that bill, with elections, because we will have to ask permission of the same bureaucrats against whom we will be demonstrating, so there is obvious contradiction. There is no answer so far, but my speech was published in the Lithuanian newspaper TIESA. Never mind that the bill is valid, we are keeping on the discussion. And what I am telling you now is also participating in this action against the bill which is in power already.

[Dobilas] So, so far there are no repressions with respect to the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka?

[Cekuolis] No, there are no repressions of the movement, I would say another way round. Mr Yakovlev and the leadership of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Government, the Communist Party, mainly they understand that we are not anti-Soviet, that we are not nationalistic movement, that we are just pushing the perestroyka faster. Nothing else.

[Dobilas] Why was that bill necessary at all?

[Cekuolis] Well, maybe conservatives in our party and in the establishment, to say so, got the upper hand this time. Well, but the execution of this bill is another question. In Lithuania, this bill will be executed with much more liberty and liberalism than in other parts of the Soviet Union, I hope.

[Dobilas] Thank you for the interview. [end recording]

[Announcer] Kestutis Lipeika, chairman of the Bar of Lithuanian Lawyers, was interviewed by our reporter, [name indistinct].

[Begin recording] [Reporter] So, what do professionals think of the new decree?

[Lipeika speaking in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] To my mind, the new decree of the order of holding meetings, rallies, and street processions does not contradict the Constitution at all. [passage omitted] But if we take the procedural matters established by the degree, the picture is quite different. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] So what is wrong about the decree when we get its details?

[Lipeika] The Constitution allows rallies, meetings, the expression of one's [words indistinct], therefore, if we want to restrict this constitutional right we must indicate specific concrete cases when this is not allowed. This is exactly what the new decree is lacking. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Another question arises here, whether the city council or any other local council is competent enough to decide what can be allowed and what not. The text of the decree can have a very broad reading. How can you be sure about deciding whether the intended rally threatens public order and what are the criteria for deciding that? There is a possibility that a bureaucratic official will use the decree to fence himself off from life without violating the law. How does lawyer Kestutis Lipeika see it?

[Lipeika] I can easily see the stand of the city council. It is much more trouble for them when a rally or a meeting is allowed. [passage omitted] Among the people who will gather there might be people who harbor evil intentions. It's much easier to say: No, we cannot give you permission this time. As for the competence, no doubt we all jointly ought to decide what is wrong and what is right, those who ask for permission and those who give it. [passage omitted]

I would also like to point out another thing which is clearly illogic: If we want a rally on ecology issues, we have to get a permission, but if we arrange a demonstration on the 1st of May, we don't need it. [passage omitted] The stand ought to be the same. As it is now, certain meetings and rallies may be seen as discriminated. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] I tried to find out the opinion of someone among the executors of the new legislative act, but my effort failed as they seemed very reluctant about giving an interview. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Estonian TV To Show Signing of Agreement
LD2408102788 Hamburg DPA in German 0937 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—The historic signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact on 23 August 1939 will be shown for the first time on Estonian television on Wednesday evening. The German documentary filmmaker Bengdt von zur Muehlen, who is in the Estonian capital Tallinn, told DPA in Moscow on Wednesday that Estonian television would, as part of an extensive program on the events of the last few days, also show excerpts of the signing of the treaty between the Foreign Ministers Ribbentrop and Molotov in the presence of Stalin.

According to Von Zur Muehlen, who is currently making a film in the Soviet Union about "Estonia Under Gorbachev," the material for the signature ceremony derives from old Russian and German newsreels. So far the Soviet Union has denied the existence of the additional protocol in which Germany and the Soviet Union defined their spheres of interest at the time. The document was published a few days ago for the first time in a number of newspapers of the Baltic republics. [passage omitted]

Estonian Official Comments on Glasnost
LD2408132888 Helsinki International Service in English 0830 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] The prime minister of the Soviet Republic of Estonia, currently in Helsinki, has said that the filling in of blank spaces in his country's history should be accelerated. Prime Minister Bruno Saul met in Helsinki on Tuesday with Finnish Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa.

Talking to Finnish television on Tuesday, Prime Minister Saul said he trusts that the permissive line pursued by party leader Gorbachev will continue. He did caution against extremism, though.

Hunger Strike for Political Prisoners Continues
LD2408120088 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] In Gediminas Square in Vilnius, Petras Cidzikas and Algimantas Andreika, who are demanding the release of all political prisoners, continue their hunger strike for the fifth day.

Yesterday in the evening, several priests arrived to hold mass on the spot. The number of hunger strikers tends to change each day. Cidzikas and Anderika have been joined by others, even by people from Armenia and Moscow.

'Historic' Riga City Flag Reinstated
LD2408133288 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Riga August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Ilya Plotke:

The historic blue-and-white flag of the city of Riga from now on will be hoisted on solemn occasions along the state flags of the USSR and this Soviet Baltic Republic of Latvia.

The decision to re-institute the city flag has been adopted by the Riga City Executive Committee in keeping with suggestions made by the population at rallies and demonstrations in support of the restoration of historic symbols and heraldry of the city and the republic.

The two-colour flag, instituted in 1673, reflects the history and traditions of the ancient city on the Daugava River, that will observe its 800th anniversary at the end of the century.

The blue colour symbolises overseas ties of the Hanseatic town, while the white colour means nobleness, openness and hospitality of its residents.

The blue-and-white flag will now recall deputies during sessions of the city and district soviets (governing councils) about the historic path of their home town and symbolise continuity of the generations.

Breakup of 'Democratic Union' Rally Supported
PM2408140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by G. Ovcharenko: "The Rally Was Banned But Its Organizers Blatantly Violated the Law"]

[Text] Moscow—Monday evening an extraordinary news conference was held for Soviet journalists at the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration. The reason for this was the attempt by a group of people calling themselves the "Democratic Union" to hold a rally despite a Moscow Gorispolkom ban.

This fact in itself hardly merits extensive coverage. But numerous telephone calls received by the editorial office and the course of the news conference itself indicate that there are questions here that need to be answered publicly.

First the facts.

Debryanskaya, Novodvorskaya, Tsarkov, and Pronozin, spokesmen for the so-called "Democratic Union," informed the Moscow Gorispolkom 4 August of the upcoming rally. They were not asking for authorization, but informed them that the rally, timed to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the events of August 1968 in Czechoslovakia, "would be held 23 August 1988 in the square at the intersection of Gorkiy Street and Tverskiy Avenue near the 'Lira' Cafe at 1600 hours."

The Moscow Gorispolkom examined this statement—or rather this ultimatum—11 August. V. Zharov, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom, informed the "Democratic Union" activists in a letter 12 August of the gorispolkom's decision. "Considering that the rally's organizers are trying to present the Soviet state's policy in a deliberately distorted fashion, given also the provocative nature of the actions of the rally's organizers and the possibility of violations of public order, and guided by Article 50 of the USSR Constitution and Article 6 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 28 July 1988 "On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations,' the Moscow Gorispolkom forbids your action group to organize and hold a rally 21 August 1988 in the square at the intersection of Gorkiy Street and Tverskiy Avenue."

Let us explain to those not in the know: The Moscow Soviet had every ground for wording its refusal in such a rigid manner. The "Democratic Union," set up by a group of people this May, has already managed to hold dozens of unsanctioned rallies at which anti-Soviet and antisocialist ideas were propagated. In particular, the "Union," as its program states, aims to change the USSR's social system, condemns the political system established in October 1917, opposes the Communist Party's leading role, and calls for the renunciation of conscription. As a rule, all previous "events" involving the "Democratic Union" have been accompanied by violations of public order.

Prior to the banning of the rally, "Union" activists printed approximately 3,000 pamphlets inviting people to attend the rally and circulated them among Muscovites and visitors to the capital. But on Sunday, in defiance of the law, approximately 80 people from the "Democratic Union" and other unofficial associations appeared at Pushkin Square. Together with passersby and hangers-on they formed a mob of approximately 500 people. The organizers of the rally insulted military workers, howled provocative slogans, distributed libelous rags, and incited those gathered there to oppose the representatives of the authorities.

Staffers from internal affairs organs spent 30 minutes explaining via loudspeakers the illegality of the rally, attempting to persuade the organizers to leave Pushkin Square, and explaining the consequences of their illegal actions. The rabble-rousers would not submit. Then, in accordance with the law, a Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration special detachment and people's voluntary militia patrols used force to break up the illegal gathering. As reported at the news conference, in accordance with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 29 July 1988 "On Responsibility For the Violation of the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations," Novodvorskaya and Montulin, Skuratov and Nodoltseva, and Glizer were put under administrative arrest for 15 days, 5 days, and 2 days respectively. Fines of R100 were imposed on 15 people. Material relating to a number of other people is under examination by the people's court in Frunzenskiy Rayon.

Judging by many of the telephone calls made by readers to PRAVDA and other newspapers, these steps won people's approval. They rightly believe that democracy and legality are inseparable concepts.

At the same time other opinions do exist. Some people are not pleased that the militia showed their strength on Sunday in Pushkin Square. They say: What kind of democracy is it when a peaceful rally is broken up by internal affairs organ staffers, women are arrested, and ordinary passersby fall into the hands of people's militia patrols?

First, let us point out straightaway that there were no casualties among the demonstrators and passersby, whereas 28 militia staffers suffered injury. Second—and this is the main thing—we must not forget that no two demonstrations are alike. It is one thing when people meet to discuss topical social and economic problems, to help restructuring, and to strengthen democracy and legality. By the way, the Moscow Gorispolkom authorizes such meetings and allocates premises for them and has but one concern—that the actions of those assembled do not encroach on the rights and freedoms of other citizens. That is why, for instance, a meeting of one independent group was moved recently from the square by the Lenin Library to the Gorbunev House of Culture on the insistence of the Moscow Gorispolkom.

But it is another matter when people like Debryanskaya and Novodvorskaya try to use our democracy and glasnost for antisocialist and anti-Soviet ends and deliberately go beyond the bounds of socialist pluralism of opinion and provoke violations of public order and militia intervention. So are we supposed to look at all this from the sidelines and act the liberal, waiting for the "Democratic Union" to show social responsibility for their actions? In the meantime are we supposed to let them destroy our restructuring and harm people and the state through their actions?

The law is the law. Everyone is obliged to obey it. That is why the Moscow militia's actions on Sunday in Pushkin Square must be deemed correct. They were doing their duty. They were defending restructuring, democracy, glasnost, and law and order.

At the same time Sunday's events in Moscow also highlighted a number of problems. In particular, it is the general opinion of the news conference participants that the Moscow Gorispolkom and other city soviets should assign definite places for people to meet, exchange opinions, and discuss questions of social, economic, and public life. The representatives of internal affairs organs made this proposal at the Moscow Gorispolkom but got no response.

Special distinguishing features must be thought up for press workers in this kind of irregular situation so that journalists have a chance to calmly interview citizens and officials and cover each incident comprehensively and objectively.

It is also incomprehensible why Monday's news conference was only called for Soviet journalists. Had foreign correspondents been there they would have been simply obliged—if they want to be objective—to tell their readers and viewers who the leaders of the "Democratic Union" are, what they are striving for, and why they needed a rally. But they would have realized the main thing—that democracy has nothing in common with total license and that we have enough common sense and legal might to oppose everyone who encroaches on our way of life and on restructuring.

The rule of law expressing the will of the people is one of the main conditions for creating a legal state. No one will allow this law to be violated as it was on Sunday by the leaders of the "Democratic Union." Law must prevail everywhere. This is in the interests of people and in the interests of the state.

'Thousands' Gather in Stepanakert for Meeting

NC2408105588 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Our Stepanakert correspondent (Anna Dosyan) reports that the ninth session of the [Nagorno-Karabakh] oblast soviet of people's deputies of the 20th convocation opened there today. In this connection a meeting attended by many thousands is taking place in front of the building of the ispolkom of the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

New Ispolkom Chairman Elected

LD2408182988 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 24 Aug 88

["Nagorno-Karabakh To Abide by Party, Government Decision"—TASS headline]

[Text] Stepanakert August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Kirill Dibrova:

Nagorno-Karabakh's Soviet of People's Deputies at its session today adopted a decision to work out a detailed programme for implementing the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to speed up the Transcaucasian autonomous region's social and economic development in 1988-1995.

The executive committee of the regional governing council was assigned to conduct a broad discussion of the measures stipulated in the resolution and take into account the amendments and proposals made by Nagorno-Karabakh's work collectives.

The regional council's decision said that the work on implementing the resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh by union and republican ministries and departments and regional bodies was so far unsatisfactory.

The council approved the initiative of the region's workers to set up economic ties with enterprises in Armenia and establish closer cooperation in issues of intellectual and cultural life.

The governing council requested the commission on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region at the House of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) to come up with a proposal on a stage-by-stage solution to Nagorno-Karabakh's problem.

The session was attended by Arkadiy Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

The session elected Semen Babayan chairman of the Executive Committee of the autonomous region's Soviet of People's Deputies.

He said to the TASS correspondent that the Karabakh residents came to the conclusion that the resolution passed by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet offered an acceptable way out from the current situation.

"At present, all our actions will be directed at creating an atmosphere in which people could normally live and work," Babayan pointed out.

Babayan Interviewed

LD2408215488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Presented by Vyacheslav Lavrentyev]

[Text] A session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies was held in Stepanakert. Sergey Omelchenko, our correspondent, says:

[Omelchenko] This session passed in the spirit of developing democracy and glasnost. Each deputy expressed freely and in a forceful manner his own opinion and outlined the proposals on the implementation of the vitally important problems of Nagorno-Karabakh and

on the implementation of the program on the acceleration of the development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, envisaged by the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted that this work has so far been carried out in an unsatisfactory way by the ministries and departments of the republic and oblast. But judge for yourself: R400 million have been allocated for the development of the oblast over the next 7 years. The autonomous oblast has been hitherto assimilating approximately R20 million per year. Many deputies consider that it is possible to fulfill this program if all its components are carefully studied and tied up with local conditions, and if the interests of the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh are taken into account. The implementation of this program is not possible without the effective, all-around assistance of the fraternal republics and the whole country.

Semen Amayakovich Babayan has been elected chairman of the oblast executive committee here at this session.

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] Semen Amayakovich, what sort of action program do you have?

[Babayan] We have a large action program. In a short space of time we shall have to accomplish what is written in the decision. Moreover, as was decided at our session today we shall probably be discussing all these issues among all collectives; we shall again return to this decision and we shall be asking to include in it certain corrections. The well-known decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium represents for us a guide for action. But at the same time, at today's session the Armenian section of the Nagorno-Karabakh population also posed a question: They will return in the future to our main question of unification with Armenia, taking into account the views of the collectives and those wishes which were expressed at the session today. The main thing, of course, is to give people an opportunity to feel that they live in our era—the Soviet era. And this was said at the session today too: that after all, we have the right to live in the same way as all normal Soviet people should live. And so, our first actions will be aimed at creating a normal situation for the people in which they can live and work.

[Omelchenko] R400 million have been allocated for the oblast for development. Tell me, how does the oblast intend to use this money? After all, it is impossible for a single oblast to manage such a large sum.

[Babayan] This is true without a doubt and this is why it is written in all decisions: The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Armenia and Azerbaijan and the governments of these republics should render their utmost help and assistance to our oblast in solving all these issues.

[Omelchenko] Has this assistance already commenced?

[Babayan] This assistance is already beginning. But I cannot say specifically that all this is proceeding smoothly. But the first steps have already been made in this direction. [end recording]

PRAVDA Carries Report

PM2508102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report from Stepanakert under the general heading "Details": "Nagorno-Karabakh: Session Held"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The session [of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies] elected S.A. Babayan chairman of the ispolkom of the autonomous oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. In an interview with this TASS correspondent, he said that the Karabakh people had come to the conclusion at a citywide rally that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution is an acceptable way out of the situation that has been created. But at the same time, the session today adopted a decision to propose in the future that the Soviet of Nationalities Commission once again return to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh's administrative subordination and take account of the opinions of labor collectives and the wishes expressed by deputies. [passage omitted]

Dialogue on Nationalities Policy Reported

PM2408095088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 88 p 10

[Dialogue between Gleb Starushenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Igor Belyayev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer: "Restructuring—Not Recarving: Ethnic Relations in the Modern World"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] At the recent July plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was stressed once again, as it was at the 19th party conference, that the nature of the development of national relations is of paramount significance for our union state, while the policy on nationalities policy is a highly complex one. It is no accident that these matters are coming up more and more frequently—especially in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh—at sessions of the Politburo and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and will be discussed at one of the next plenums of the Central Committee.

What is the crux of the national problems that have now become acute? Why have they come to the fore now, at the time of restructuring? This is the subject of a discussion between Igor Belyayev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer, and G. B. Starushenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who for 7 years represented the USSR on the UN Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Not Only Grounds for Emotion [subhead]

[Belyayev] Gleb Borisovich, until recently if we took an interest in the nationalities question, it was mainly "over there," in the rest of the world. Natural enough, or so it seemed. Then all at once problems arising from ethnic issues arose "over here" too. This was unexpected, even unnatural. At least that is what it looked like to many people at first glance. After all, we remember being taught in the VUZ's as an incontrovertible truth that the nationalities question cannot be completely resolved in conditions of capitalism. But how did it come to make itself felt in a socialist state too? Should we not break with tradition and this time begin our discussion of the stated topic by examining the situation "over here"?

[Starushenko] Only with one stipulation. Our discussion is not intended to show how "everything is bad over there" and "everything is good over here." I believe a study of the general picture of national relations in the modern world will give us the opportunity to borrow some things and to assess our own achievements more objectively. After all, creating the optimum conditions for the peoples' national and social development is the constant task of all states. The experience of others deserves, at the least, to be taken into account. "Contemporary nationalities policy," as the 19th party conference resolution 'On Interethnic Relations' notes, "needs profound scientific and theoretical elaboration."

[Belyayev] It seems to me that this was not often remembered in recent decades.

[Starushenko] But any multinational society generates contradictions, and there is nothing unexpected or frightening in the fact that the nationalities question has made its presence felt here too. The advantages of socialism lie not in its eliminating the very possibility of the emergence of contradictions in ethnic relations, but in the creation of preferential conditions for tackling them—when this is done in good time. Unfortunately, in the period of stagnation we spent more time repeating that the problems of ethnic relations were resolved in the Soviet Union than we spent tackling them.

[Belyayev] That is putting it mildly, although the historical legacy must also be taken into account. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem has existed, we may suppose, for a long time, but in the first decades of Soviet power it lost its urgency. Armenians lived peaceably in Soviet Azerbaijan. Its present exacerbation is due to gross errors by the local administration and violations of the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy and Soviet legislation. The sides in the dispute that flared up seem to be seeking evidence to support them, first and foremost, in the "traditions of the remote past." Here, of course, they are adopting a "blinkered" approach. I have no doubt that if it were a question of personal interests, intelligent people motivated by high ideals would not act in this way.

[Starushenko] I also have the impression that the debates that have long been under way between Armenian and Azerbaijani social scientists have not always helped to strengthen friendship between their peoples. Sometimes it was like rubbing salt into an open wound, other times like a drug to heighten national arrogance.

The harsh reality of recent months has introduced a new element into the scientific debate—the personal responsibility of the participants has increased. Today there are grounds for claiming that they are now guided more by the interests of the entire Soviet Union. The social scientists did come to the conclusion that it is necessary to involve not only historians, but also other experts in drafting decisions, so as to take account of the full range of contemporary legal, economic, demographic, political, and other factors. Of course, an in-depth study of the past will also continue in order to clarify and enrich the history of their peoples, but in such a way as not to distract from the main cause of our day—restructuring. Many people support the view that restructuring and the recarving of maps are incompatible.

[Belyayev] If you were acting as an expert on issues relating to Karabakh, what would be your line of argument?

[Starushenko] First of all I would proceed on the basis that in resolving these issues it is necessary to take into account similar problems that exist or could arise in other parts of the country. It was noted at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, incidentally, that we have such problems in many places.

Before the well-known events in Sumgait, the sides' positions could be assessed as approximately equivalent, but as having different reasons: One side placed the emphasis on the violation of its rights and felt extremely sensitive about this because it had been the victim of genocide in prerevolutionary times; the other side proceeded on the basis that it already had some rights to the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and, other things being equal, as the Romans used to say, the position of whoever has possession takes preference.

After the Sumgait events, which caused some Armenians to feel justifiably concerned for their safety, I would consider it justified to take additional measures to guarantee the people's true safety. The fact that the republican authorities could not foresee this turn of events does not absolve them of responsibility. National relations are, after all, an emotive sphere, and if people continue to fear for themselves and their loved ones, even if they have no special grounds for that fear, it must be reckoned with all the same. It is the duty of the authorities to prevent such a situation. It would be possible even now to increase the level of legal protection for Armenians living both in Karabakh (on the basis of administrative autonomy) and in the whole of Azerbaijan (in the position of a national minority).

A Piquant "Seasoning" for State Life [subhead]

[Belyayev] I would like you to explain something. What meaning do you invest in the concept of "national minorities"? In the UN documents with which I am familiar, what is meant by minorities is groups of persons who are not dominant in a given country and who, while desiring rights equal with the majority of the population, at the same time seek to preserve their own basic identity. Thus when we speak of minorities in our country, are we talking about nations and peoples living in a high concentration on one territory, or only national groups that are scattered among other peoples?

[Starushenko] The definition you gave covers both nationalities with their own territory and those who do not have their own territory but live together with other peoples on those peoples' territory. In the Soviet Union, unlike the vast majority of states, large nations and ethnic groups living in a high concentration have created their own statehood in the form of union or autonomous republic. Because of this we do not usually apply the term "national minorities" to their population. Autonomous oblasts, of which Nagorno-Karabakh is one, are not **national state formations, but national administrative formations**. Consequently, both the population of that oblast and the Armenians who are scattered all over Azerbaijan (half a million of them) constitute, in my view, a national minority.

Since the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians have their own territory, their degree of legal protection could be increased by means of switching to a higher form of autonomy. There are precedents. Of the 16 autonomous republics now belonging to the RSFSR, 11 were formerly autonomous oblasts. This solution and others were proposed at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. For instance, creating an organ made up of representatives of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet to look after Nagorno-Karabakh's affairs on the spot. This decision has already been implemented. The other proposals that were put forward require comprehensive study, taking into account, among other things, the situation in other regions of the country.

[Belyayev] However, there are minorities who live and are active outside a national territory. Protecting them is more difficult. Their numbers are growing rapidly, which exacerbates the situation in many countries. "Minorities are a piquant seasoning for the uniform current of state life," it was noted, not without reason, by a speaker at the UN Commission on Human Rights. What do states do to prevent this "seasoning" from becoming too piquant?

[Starushenko] Experience shows that the rights of national minorities can be successfully protected only by the efforts of the state on whose territory a given minority lives. Other states and international organizations can only **promote** this through the system of international cooperation. This system has arisen as a result of the voluntary adherence of states to multilateral conventions aimed at protecting racial and national minorities, as well as other human rights.

The question of granting territorial or only cultural autonomy to minorities is entirely within the competence of states. I believe that we too, in improving our legislation and bringing it into line with the international commitments we have taken on, should adopt additional measures to strengthen the effective protection of citizens belonging to national minorities. The 19th party conference resolution envisages that they should receive more opportunities in the sphere of education, contacts, the development of their national creativity, the creation of seats of national culture, the utilization of the mass media, and the satisfaction of religious requirements. I believe that in this context it is necessary to increase the level of judicial and administrative protection for every representative of the population groups under consideration against discriminatory actions on the part of both individuals and state organs.

[Belyayev] Are you referring to the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Starushenko] Yes, the problem has become acute first and foremost in connection with Nagorno-Karabakh. After all, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast administrative organs adopted a "decision" on withdrawing from the Azerbaijan SSR and joining the Armenian SSR. Under the USSR Constitution and the Azerbaijan Constitution an autonomous oblast does not have that right. As a sovereign state, the union republic autonomously decides the question of its own territory, and a change in borders between union republics can only take place by mutual agreement between their supreme soviets and with subsequent ratification by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This does not mean that the unraveling of the Karabakh knot is impossible, or that it is being postponed indefinitely. In order to resolve an equation with many unknowns, you have to formulate a number of other equations. That means a thorough study of the present situation relating to Karabakh and also in other parts of the country.

A Multinational State Is the Norm [subhead]

[Belyayev] How do things stand in foreign states, in particular those created on the basis of the "one nation—one state" principle? Is it possible to assert, as people claim in the West, that the world is entering the "age of nationalism"?

[Starushenko] Despite the elimination of colonial oppression in more than 100 countries; the declaration that racism is an international crime and the abolition of the racist regimes in Portugal and Rhodesia; the conclusion of a whole series of international treaties; and the

adoption of numerous intrastate laws aimed at protecting peoples and individuals against discrimination, the international picture remains alarming. Apartheid still exists in South Africa. Old national disputes flare up periodically in such countries as Belgium, Turkey, Yugoslavia, the PRC.... In the liberated countries national processes are as yet only gathering speed, but in some of these countries they have already led to serious complications (for instance, in India, Sri Lanka, and Ethiopia).

In the developed capitalist states that are based on the "nationality principle," a new round of exacerbation of national problems has begun. In pursuit of profit, they stimulate the influx of foreign laborers into the Old World and North America, mainly from the developing countries. As a result the West European states are slowly but surely turning into multinational states. The proportion of foreign workers in the population of such countries as the FRG, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium is between 4 and 10 percent, while if you count those who have acquired local citizenship, the number of foreigners in certain West European countries is approaching 15 percent. In the United States it is even higher—some 20 percent.

In our day not the one-nation but multinational state is becoming the norm. Let me remind you that the number of major nations and peoples alone, in the modern world, is approximately 2,000. Of these more than 320 comprise more than 1 million people. The number of states is approximately 175 and, according to experts' assessments, is unlikely to exceed 200 by the year 2000. So nearly everyone has to live in a multinational state and learn internationalism. Talking about the onset of the "age of nationalism" is contrary to the clearly manifested trends in mankind's development.

[Belyayev] However, there are people who propose that even in the conditions of socialism the nationalities question should be tackled on the basis of capitalist models—by recarving the national-state and national-administrative divisions of the country in accordance with considerations of economic expediency, without taking account of the national factor and in effect by pushing through the assimilation of nations and the transition to a common language.... In general, by acting according to the same old command-and-administer method. What can you say about such suggestions, in the light of international experience?

[Starushenko] The emergence in Western states of groups of national minorities, even those that are comparatively small in number today, has entailed the sharp exacerbation of racial conflicts. This is acknowledged by their governments in reports sent to the United Nations. Britain, for instance, has introduced three categories of citizenship for its subjects, and the second and third categories, naturally, comprise immigrants from its former colonies. France's reports cite numerous examples of discrimination against Algerians; in the FRG it is Turks and Jews; in Israel, Arabs; in New Zealand, the native Maoris.... Such models can hardly serve as an example for us.

[Belyayev] In connection with what you have said, I cannot help but wonder: How can we interpret the principle of self-determination for peoples and nations that has taken the place of the "nationality principle"?

[Starushenko] The problem of the right to self-determination has two aspects—legal and political. The right to self-determination is acknowledged for all peoples and nations without exception. In accordance with the UN Charter every state is obliged not only to ensure equal rights for citizens of all nationalities, but also to satisfy their desire to preserve their own specific features. But determining the form in which this right is realized in each case (granting opportunities for the free development of culture and education in the native language, autonomy, federation, and so forth) is a purely political matter, and there can be different solutions. But they must always take into account the interests both of other peoples and the state as a whole.

The unconditional recognition of the struggle for freedom and self-determination, Lenin said, does not by any means oblige us to support every demand for national self-determination. After the victory of the October Revolution, he pointed out: No Marxist, without breaking with the fundamentals of Marxism and socialism, can deny that the interests of socialism are higher than the interests of the nation's right to self-determination. Naturally, here it is a question of the possible denial not of self-determination, but of separation as a means of realizing it. Self-determination is a method of preventing, not encouraging, separatism. This problem is resolved in a similar way in international law and in practice.

[Belyayev] But since states are, after all, forced to tackle the nationalities question, I would like to know: What use do they make of forms of state structure such as federation and autonomy as alternatives to separatism?

[Starushenko] In the nonsocialist world comparatively few federations exist, and these are usually based not on nationality, but on an administrative basis (Mexico, the FRG, Austria). Even in federations with a multinational population the borders between federal units do not follow national divisions. Thus in Switzerland there are three main national groups. There are more than 20 cantons, which developed on a historical and administrative basis.

No bourgeois constitution makes provision for the right to withdraw from the state, even a federal state, or for the right to other forms of self-determination. If national territorial autonomous entities exist anywhere, they are usually administrative, not state formations. Neither the

autonomous regions and territories in Spain, nor the component parts of the majority of bourgeois federations have their own constitutions. Their rights are increasingly restricted. Canada, which was once a confederation of Anglo-Canadians and French Canadians, has become a federation—not of 2 nations, but of 10 provinces.

The Cost of "Historical Borders" [subhead]

[Belyayev] Contradictions arising from nationality are manifested particularly frequently in connection with the question of territorial demarcation of borders. To justify their claims to a particular territory, the sides often refer to history, to the fact that in the past this territory was inhabited by "my" people.

[Starushenko] Since the population of the earth has constantly shifted and people are still migrating, you would probably not find many territories that could not be simultaneously claimed, with identical justification, by several peoples. So references to "historical borders" must not be seen as imperative.

It has become the practice in international relations to preserve to the maximum degree the borders that existed at the time a state emerged. The desire to widen the borders, for instance to unite in a single state formation all the people of a given nation without the consent of the states of which they are citizens, is an impossible dream, and sometimes a dangerous venture. So a "bad" border is better than a "good" armed conflict.

[Belyayev] I also think that the most essential qualities that should now be cultivated are restraint, respect, and caution in resolving major national issues. Of course we need new legislative proposals and laws governing national processes, but what we particularly need is a high standard of ethnic relations.

[Starushenko] An educated, cultured person cannot be a chauvinist, a nationalist, a racist, a Zionist, or an anti-Semite. Tolerance, respect for other people's views, other ways of thinking, different customs—these are paramount elements for a common culture. Establishing that culture is not only desirable, it is necessary. Mankind has already paid a very high price for intolerance and intransigence in this sphere.

It is more difficult to inculcate in a person the habits of correct behavior in the sphere of ethnic relations than to teach him good manners. In this sphere of life, unlike the sphere of manners, a generally recognized code does not exist. It probably cannot be created by legislative means, as was proposed by my colleague in the Moscow State University law faculty, Arkadiy Vaksberg, at the recent Writers Union plenum. I think all we can do is to elaborate, with the participation of the public, an ethical code of ethnic relations, taking into account the experience accumulated in the republics and multinational collectives. Scientific leadership could be exercised by the Center for the Study of National Relations that has been set up at the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Belyayev] Let me add one more point. We must be open to a serious and frank discussion of the problems that have become acute and demand resolution, and which could be taken up within the framework of our democracy, on the basis of the principles of respect, equality, and fraternity.

[Starushenko] Restructuring, which is also aimed at resolving problems of ethnic relations, will help us considerably. Within the framework of restructuring, as the 19th party conference resolution notes, a whole program is mapped out for the implementation of urgent measures to develop and strengthen the Soviet federation. The rights of union republics and autonomous formations are being extended on the basis of the optimum combination of their interests and those of the country as a whole. In the process of building a state based on the rule of law, the soviets will become more active and the role of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities is being increased. However, in my view, we should still set up a body to replace the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, which was abolished in the twenties. Its prime task would be to compile an inventory of national problems and then draft decisions for state organs.

[Belyayev] One day in June, my telephone rang in the editorial office. On the other end of the line was an unfamiliar voice asking whether I knew that a kind of rally or demonstration of Crimean Tatars was being held in central Moscow, near Red Square. Let me stress particularly that this event, if it actually took place, happened after the state commission that was set up to examine the issues raised in appeals from Crimean Tatar citizens had given its verdict. The essence of that verdict is that neither the possibility nor the justification exists for establishing an autonomous Crimean entity. So some people were dissatisfied with the commission's decision. If we disregard the emotions that take people onto the streets to demonstrate in support of their view on a particular urgent problem, it is quite obvious that the demographic and social changes that have taken place in the Crimea in the postwar years have been too great and too important. Our reading public know all about these changes. Nonetheless some representatives of that nationality are still not calm. It seems to me that taking comprehensive account of the real situations that have developed not only in the Crimea, but in other parts of the country, is one of the most important conditions for finding truly correct solutions in the emotionally charged sphere that ethnic relations have now become.

And I repeat—anyone who calls for a radical solution in this sphere must not forget the existing realities.

Pamyat Leader Interviewed on Policies, Membership
PM2408100088 Brussels LE SOIR in French 22 Aug 88 p 1

[Interview with Pamyat leader Yuriy Ryverov by Nina Bachkatov in Leningrad; date not given]

[Text] [Bachkatov] This is the first time you have agreed to meet with foreign journalists. Why have you waited so long and taken such precautions?

[Ryverov] When some journalists met with our Moscow leaders, they used their statements to discredit our association. We feel particularly distrustful because we know that the Western press is controlled by the Zionists.

[Bachkatov] Leningrad is a Pamyat stronghold, the only city in which you hold weekly meetings. How many members do you think you have?

[Ryverov] We have 500 active members, but not all attend the meetings because they do not want to lose their jobs or be expelled from the party. We have a list of 4,500 people who are close enough to us to have told us their names and telephone numbers. Also, 10,000 people have written expressing their support for our ideas.

[Bachkatov] What is it that attracts them?

[Ryverov] We want to defend Russian culture and ensure that the Russian people have the same rights as other nationalities, without discrimination. We are the only ones to be deprived of our national press, a capital, a republic, and a national communist party.

[Bachkatov] How can you implement your program?

[Ryverov] The Russians must govern Russia. The land must be given back to the peasants: That is the basis of any change. The party is talking about this too, but it will not implement it because the real power in this country lies not the party but with a Jewish mafia which carried out the revolution and has run the country ever since.

[Bachkatov] You speak of a "Jewish mafia." How can you therefore take offense at being accused of anti-Semitism?

[Ryverov] We have nothing against the Jews, but we are opposed to the Zionists whose aim is world domination and who have only ever protected their own interests. Our country is in a disastrous state, and we only have our country. We are not cosmopolitans who think of emigrating when things go badly. There are people who are responsible for this crisis, and we want to know who they are. However, when the names of those responsible are listed and they are Jewish, we are accused of anti-Semitism. If 90 percent of doctors are Jews, then at least the Russians should be well cared for.

[Bachkatov] Is there not something unhealthy in this search for figures intended to back up your theory?

[Ryverov] Is it our fault if the facts prove that the Jews who played a minor role in Russia before the revolution then invaded all sectors after 1917? The first Soviet of Commissars had 26 members: 3 Russians, one of them doubtful, 1 Armenian, 1 Georgian, and 17 Jews. The Foreign Affairs Council had 45 members, all of whom were Jews aside from Chicherin. The same was true of the organs of repression, trade, and industry. They are now also among Gorbachev's advisers, like Aganbegyan; Arbatov, who sent our troops to Afghanistan; and Zaslavskaya, who killed Russian villages. In addition, there is culture, where they comprise 71.52 percent of the Composers' Union in Leningrad.

[Bachkatov] Your meetings have been banned, so what are your plans?

[Ryverov] We intend to rewrite our rules, because the first ones were rejected on the grounds of anti-Sovietism and chauvinism. Then we intend to official apply to hold public meetings again. On 2 September, we will demonstrate outside the Kirov theater where cosmopolitans are dismantling Russian ballet in favor of modern dance, outside the university building where they are making trouble for Russian teachers, and outside the Lenfilm cinema studios which are totally controlled by Jews.

Frunze Deputies 'Unable' To Lead Perestroyka
LD2408201988 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 24 Aug 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Frunze August 24 TASS—Sociological surveys in Frunze, the capital of the Kirghiz Republic, have found the need to replace most of the deputies of district and city soviets as unable to lead the process of perestroyka.

"Most deputies are well aware of the most acute problems of the city. The fact is, however, that 40 per cent of them see remedies not in improved management system and democratisation of society but in relying on administrative methods of work, says Salavat Iskakov, chairman of the City Soviet of People's Deputies. The three years of perestroyka have not changed the mentality of these people who have to provide leadership for the people and to translate their aspirations into reality."

One third of the present deputies insist that the apparatus of the soviets works as it should and needs no perestroyka. Over half the deputies have never come into conflict with those working in the economic, party or soviet bodies, the corollary being that the apparatus commands and the people's deputies obey.

Sociological surveys have marked the start of restructuring the work of Frunze's city and district soviets.

"Now that we have a mere few months before the elections, we have set in place a kind of an 'educating-in-democracy' programme, Iskakov said. We teach people to be able to do what a local soviet deputy is expected to, and must, do. The survey has found that only half the present deputies have a clear idea of their rights and duties. This should not be the case with the new ones. The system of nominating candidates for deputies has been changed. Now candidates are not proposed by district or city party committees, they are nominated by the work collectives themselves. Three or four most worthy candidates will make it the 'finishing line' to compete for one deputy seat. [sentence as received] It is out of these that the future deputies will be elected by secret ballot. In fact, there will be two deputies elected per seat—one actual and one, who has obtained the second largest number of votes, a reserve deputy. And if, after a few months of work, a deputy fails to show himself to be a genuine champion and defender of the voters' interests, they can remove and replace him by the reserve one."

Khrushchev's Son-in-Law Urges Reappraisal

PM2408140488 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 20 Aug 88 p 11

[Interview with Aleksey Adzhubey, son-in-law of Nikita Khrushchev, by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpts] Moscow—"I am not demanding rehabilitation for Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev: He does not need it. I am demanding justice for my children's sake. After 20 years we want the veil of silence surrounding his name eliminated and an answer to a single question: What would have happened in this country had it not been for him?" This was said by Aleksey Adzhubey, Khrushchev's son-in-law, the man closest to him during his period in power and for 24 years custodian of the de-Stalinizer's political legacy on his family's behalf. [passage omitted]

[Mauro] NEW TIMES has written that Khrushchev went down in history for his "secret report" on Stalin's crimes, and he remains in history because that act eliminates all his errors. Is that not a reappraisal?

[Adzhubey] It is undoubtedly the start of a reappraisal. Above all it is the truth. I know exactly in what way the secret report is Khrushchev's offspring, and his alone. He did not prepare it with anyone. He prepared the paperwork on his own and in mid-congress informed the others: This report must be read out. There was talk of disputes and arguments within the Presidium but I know there was a fight to the death. Not only Khrushchev but someone else too told me that at the end Molotov attempted a final compromise, proposing a kind of "judicial solution". Comrade Khrushchev, do not read out that report, Molotov said. We will find a formula for invalidating Stalin's trials and the party will understand us. [passage omitted]

[Mauro] How is it possible for the 1956 secret report to remain secret in 1988?

[Adzhubey] I cannot find an explanation. That report, with which even the Poles are now acquainted, will undoubtedly be published in our country too. But when? I cannot answer this because I cannot understand the logic of those who are still blocking it. But perhaps there is some logic: It is the inability to really come to terms with our past. Thus the past continues to exist in the present and everything here is more complicated than elsewhere.

[Mauro] Why is the country that stands up to Stalin's ghost afraid of Khrushchev?

[Adzhubey] I am tempted to say that it is because the people who got rid of him—Gromyko, Solomentsev, and Shcherbitskiy—are all still there in their same posts. But the fact is that this is a country that has been brought up on fear. I myself was afraid for my children until a few years ago. Brezhnev was still afraid of Khrushchev in 1971, when he had the cemetery closed on the day of his funeral and a had notice displayed on the gate: "Maintenance Work Today." Basically Khrushchev was still afraid when he swore at Pasternak and criticized Grossman. Unfortunately, in our society the reserves of fear are never exhausted. [passage omitted]

Rehabilitated Odessa Officials' Protest Noted

PM2408100288 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 88 p 2

[Letter from group of former Odessa officials, plus comment by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Communist Education Department: "Not an Exception—a System"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In the last issue of the newspaper we reported the conclusion of the court hearing on the action brought by former Odessa Oblast Prosecutor V. Zimarin against LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and Yu. Shchekochikhin. But despite the fact that the court once again reaffirmed the correctness of the newspaper's stand, it is still too soon to regard the Odessa story as closed. This is indicated by a letter from Odessa to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

[Letter] The main reason why we are writing to the editorial office is that the Malyshev case, which LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has written about more than once, is not the only result of Zimarin's activity in the post of oblast prosecutor.

Zimarin and Bobovskiy created a whole series of similar cases to "expose" the "mafia" which they themselves invented, while the real criminals went unpunished. In order to create "forged cases" they made use of base, unseemly methods, threats, blackmail, outright falsification, and conspiracy with criminals.

Criminal cases were fabricated against us when we had committed no crimes, but were trying to prevent violations of the law; some of us spent from a few months to a few years in solitary confinement, transit prisons, and strict regime colonies, although we were innocent (we have all now been rehabilitated).

We do not want to talk here about the terrible, humiliating suffering that Zimarin and Bobovskiy had in store for our friends and families. As lawyers, we have much practical work behind us and are well aware what damage is done to the state by the fabrication of falsified criminal cases. How many criminals went undetected because investigative and operational personnel were otherwise engaged!

It has now emerged that during the period of Zimarin's activity a significant number of people were unlawfully arrested, and about 60 people have already been released from custody for reasons of rehabilitation.

We believe that all these circumstances should be the subject of a thorough investigation, since the investigation of the facts of the falsification of Malyshev's case alone will not uncover the full picture of the violations of the rule of law perpetrated by former Odessa Oblast Prosecutor Zimarin.

We would like to note that more than 2 years have passed since the majority of us were fully rehabilitated. However, despite the fact that under the law we should be restored to our former work, we continue to haunt the offices of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Prosecutors' Offices, whose workers, on various invented pretexts, are in effect supporting Zimarin by preventing that from happening.

We insist that the investigating group from the USSR Prosecutor's Office which has been working in Odessa for 8 months should investigate, in addition to the falsification of the Malyshev case, Zimarin's and Bobovskiy's other crimes, including Zimarin's activity while he was Voroshilovgrad Oblast prosecutor.

We are confident that all the officials involved in mass lawlessness in Odessa Oblast will be called to account before the law, and this will be a victory for glasnost and restructuring and an assertion of the principles of a state ruled by law.

[Signed] S.S. Makarenko, former Odessa Oblast deputy prosecutor; I.V. Kislenko, former Odessa Oblast Prosecutor's Office investigator for important cases; V.A. Manushin, former Odessa Oblast Prosecutor's Office senior investigator; A.M. Bondarenko, former chief of the corrective labor colonies unit of Odessa Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; I.Ye. Nekhlyudov, former deputy chief of the department for combating embezzlement of socialist property and speculation; V.N. Korotkov, former senior supervisor at the Odessa Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Criminal Investigations Administration; M.I. Rotar, former senior inspector at the Odessa Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration department for combating embezzlement of socialist property and speculation.

[Commentary by the Communist Education Department] More than once the newspaper, when relating stories similar to the A. Malyshev case, has had to note sadly: Those who were guilty of fabricating criminal cases against innocent people eventually got away with a bit of a fright. Can the investigation of the fabrication of criminal cases in Odessa be allowed to end in precisely the same way? Surely not!

We know that a team from the Military Prosecutor's Office is continuing its work in Odessa, and we cannot interfere in the course of the investigation. But here is something that cannot but cause concern. Despite the fact that the main culprits, former Odessa Prosecutor Zimarin and former Odessa Oblast KGB Senior Supervisor Bobovskiy, were dismissed from their posts and, by a decision of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, expelled from the party, certain forces in Odessa continue to take care of them: Cozy niches are instantly found for them and they are accorded most-favored status in the city. Yet those who suffered because of Zimarin and Bobovskiy, who served sentences despite being innocent, and who today have been judicially rehabilitated, have not been rehabilitated in society! Even A. Malyshev has not yet been paid compensation for the 2 years he spent unlawfully in prison.

So has anyone had to answer for the fact that the Odessa Oblast administrative organs proved, to put it mildly, useless? Judge for yourselves: The oblast prosecutor has been expelled from the party, the chief of the oblast internal affairs administration has been dismissed from the organs with a severe party penalty, and a number of senior officials of the oblast KGB have been severely punished. As far as the editorial office knows, no one has been held responsible for the discredited leaders and the incorrect cadre policy! Perhaps that is why the innocent are still regarded as guilty, while the guilty are still under the protection of tacit patronage!!

'Freedom of Choice' in International Ties Urged

PM2408124988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov under the rubric "The 19th Party Conference and Problems of Peace": "Freedom of Choice"]

[Text] Every people decides for itself what path to follow, what form of ownership to opt for, and what god to worship. No one has the right to assume the role of inquisitor and brand as heretics those who have chosen a different way of life and have different aspirations and ideals. Bellicose fanaticism, spiritual intolerance, and the cult of exclusiveness—you will only find these in the murky pages of human history.

In the nuclear age, when mankind's very existence is in jeopardy, freedom of choice is a political imperative, a universal principle of international relations. You can have different social systems and ideological and political values. This continues to be an occasion for rivalry, but it should not be an occasion for waging war. Is it not remarkable that the warning: "The ashes of capitalism would be indistinguishable from the ashes of socialism" has now gained currency in the United States—the very country where the troubadours of anticommunist crusades once came up with the grim aphorism: "Better dead than Red."

Of course, the ideological struggle is bound to influence the world climate. You cannot abolish or ban it, because you cannot make people think the same. It is not a matter of socialism's and capitalism's sacrificing their ideologies for the sake of mankind's survival, but of the rival sides' divesting themselves of ideologized approaches to the formation of interstate relations and being able to rise above ideological differences in matters of war and peace, embodying general human interests. Ridding diplomacy of prejudice and intolerance means actually acknowledging that all peoples and states have freedom of social and political choice.

The concept of freedom of choice has a key place in the new political thinking. As was noted at the 19th all-union party conference, this concept is conditioned by the unprecedented, increasing diversity of the world. Billions of people, who for centuries were, so to speak, in the wings of history, have now come to the front of the stage. The general growth of national self-awareness is prompting them to have their say in the quest for their own path. Sovereignty and independence, equality and noninterference are becoming generally accepted norms. In these conditions, to encroach on freedom of choice and impose a different social system and different yardsticks and values on others is to oppose the objective course of history.

Freedom of choice is an essential element of the democratization of international relations in conditions where the policy of strength is historically obsolete. The peoples of liberated states want to be masters of their own destiny. They are seeking genuine independence and equality which would rule out any manifestations of diktat.

World development is now determined by interaction between a multiplicity of factors. You cannot reduce all the processes occurring in the international arena to a struggle between two opposing systems and invariably see any conflict as a reflection of East-West opposition and, ultimately, as an echo of rivalry between the two superpowers. This scholastic scheme gives rise to a simplistic, black and white vision of the world.

For a long time the "anyone not with us is against us" motto demanded a clear indication of what side of the barricades between East and West one was on. This greatly restricted freedom of choice for young states achieving political independence. And the Nonaligned Movement, in particular, embodied a protest against this situation, a desire on the part of the liberated countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to play an independent role in history.

It is wrong to view the Nonaligned Movement solely through the prism of East-West confrontation or interpret the very term "Third World" as something intermediate between the "socialist East" and "capitalist West." The Nonaligned Movement is an independent factor of international life acting together with other influential present-day forces.

The Nonaligned Movement has set mankind an example of political patience. It was no accident that one of the movement's founders, India, was coauthor—together with the homeland of socialism, the USSR—of the Delhi Declaration, which embodies the fundamental principles of new political thinking and is an appeal to mankind for a world free from nuclear weapons and violence.

Crusades to deal with infidels and dissidents are by no means confined to the Middle Ages. The powers of the Entente wanted to smother Bolshevism at birth. Hitler tried to crush the Soviet Land in the name of a "new order" in Europe. Churchill's Fulton speech, with its "Iron Curtain" dividing the world, was a call for an anti-Soviet crusade. In our own day the Reagan doctrine of neoglobalism—open export of counterrevolution in the form of military aid to antigovernment forces in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola, and Nicaragua in the hope of reversing history—has epitomized this bellicose approach.

Cold war, from the atomic blackmail policy to the doctrine of neoglobalism, was the choice of the U.S. imperialist circles, their call for an "American era," their claim to supremacy in the postwar world, and to the role of international gendarme. But the spirit of intolerance generated by the cold war also penetrated the socialist world, contributing to the fact that the siege mentality became established willy-nilly in Soviet people's consciousness.

The "anyone not with us is against us" motto prevents one from seeing the integrity of the world and from correlating one's own national interests with other states' interests and makes absolute the barrier between different social systems. But diplomacy and isolationism are incompatible. Unilateral actions in foreign policy usually have little effect. Every state is interested in creating the most favorable external conditions for its own internal development. But to influence the environment you have to interact with it. Socialist economy, science, and technology must not cut themselves off from their capitalist counterparts. That does no one any good.

I said before that freedom of choice is an element of the democratization of international relations. But it is also a prerequisite of the democratization of the foreign policy of any state. Upholding freedom of choice means acknowledging multiple-option development and, consequently, multiple-option foreign policy solutions. The opportunity to choose the best of several options helps overcome one-sidedness, dogmatism, and the dangerous sense of one's own infallibility.

Therefore, the concept of freedom of choice also has a kind of reflexive meaning for us. While in the sphere of our domestic policy glasnost is even running ahead of the concrete results of restructuring, the foreign policy situation is different. In order to democratize Soviet diplomacy it is necessary to create an effective constitutional mechanism for discussing and tackling the most important issues. The people must actively participate in forming USSR foreign policy. Pluralism of opinions is not a luxury, not a vogue, but a method of finding optimal solutions and avoiding errors, or correcting them in time.

"Let us show patience and live together in the world like good neighbors and pool our efforts in order to maintain international peace and security"—these lines for the UN Charter are a reminder that there exists an accepted code of conduct for states, and there is no need to recreate it.

Recognition of freedom of choice and, therefore, of multi-option development, is an important prerequisite of the democratization of international relations in general and of the process of forming any country's foreign policy. This is the only approach to the solution of the contradictions of world development and to the settlement of conflict situations that offers the opportunity to ensure the survival of mankind and its further social progress.

Philosopher Views Past, Present Party Ethics

PM2408141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Professor A. Guseynov, doctor of philosophical sciences and chief of the ethics section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, by V. Kerimov and V. Mudragey under the rubric "Lessons of One Debate": "Party Members' Ethics"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The editors' mailbag attests that PRAVDA readers today are especially concerned about problems of the party's moral authority. Considerable harm was done to it by the lawlessness of the thirties through the early fifties, by the moral disintegration of a section of cadres, and by the stagnation processes of the seventies and the early eighties. A sharp, in-depth discussion of the Communists' ethics took place at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

In this connection, the materials of the debate in the twenties on party ethics are of both cognitive and practical interest to us. In the course of it, prominent party figures attempted to draw up moral criteria for a Communist's behavior under conditions in which the party has become the ruling party, and to interpret the reasons for and the forms and ways of overcoming negative processes.

The lessons of the debate and its significance are commented on by Professor A. Guseynov, doctor of philosophical sciences and chief of the ethics section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] In the mass consciousness the personality cult really is frequently associated with asceticism and high morality, whereas the stagnation times are associated with amorality and the pursuit of pleasure, that is, with hedonism. Does this, in your opinion, tally with reality?

[Guseynov] As for the official model of party ethics, it really did have a veneer of asceticism in the thirties and forties. Qualities such as unpretentiousness, disregard for personal interests, and self-sacrifice were regarded as the standard. Under Brezhnev, however, the unbridled, vulgar aspect of the life of the ruling clique was somehow more striking. But from the viewpoint of morality, both instances seem to me to have much in common. There is, above all, the monstrous discrepancy between word and deed, between the model, meant for show, and real life. Stalin did not tire of repeating that people and cadres decide everything, and he would sign lists of those doomed to annihilation. What of the lies and slander with which Stalin and his retinue literally ensnared their opponents, declaring hundreds and thousands of people "enemies of the people"? What of the atmosphere of enmity and suspicion in the country and the encouragement of informers and toadies? How can all this be reconciled in the eyes of the people with the "leader" image created by official propaganda? Or another point: Stalin posed as an ascetic, but the numerous dachas and monuments throughout the country in his lifetime are a fact. What of the splendid banquets and drinking bouts for his entourage? Could Stalin not have known, for example, about the dirty escapades of Beriya and his total moral degradation, not to mention the way he passed unjust verdicts on people? But Stalin merely ennobled him and gave him ever greater power.

And someone—I mean Brezhnev—who was blasphemously compared with Lenin in terms of personal modesty awarded himself endless titles and orders. However, there had already been an example! Stalin too had "modestly" conferred upon himself the title of generalissimo. Both the "leader of all working people" and "Lenin's loyal pupil" ravaged agriculture in their own way, but equally "successfully," dooming millions of people to enforced asceticism. No, many of the flaws of stagnation, including moral ones, are rooted in the times

when the administrative-bureaucratic system came into being. Despite all the outward differences, there is a profound inner kinship here from an ethical viewpoint. In both cases there was a twofold morality, although, it is true, manifested in different forms.

[Interviewer] What, in your view, are the lessons of the twenties' party debate from the viewpoint of today's tasks for the moral betterment of the life of the party and all of society?

[Guseynov] First of all, the very attention given to moral problems is instructive. The main, most typical unhealthy phenomena which were revealed in the conduct of Communists and in the activity of party organizations and which, on the whole, coincide with what we today call "antipodes," were named. The participants in the debate pointed to and analyzed objective and subjective aspects of destructive processes in party mores and their real causes. They were in any case far from considering those phenomena only or even primarily survivals from the past. The ruling party's very position entails the possibility of the moral degeneration of a section of its members, holds temptations, and attracts people who seek their own advantage and who want to make themselves as comfortable as possible. A kind of paradox is to be observed here, not a paradox of the mind, of incomplete knowledge, but an objective paradox: Without high moral authority the party cannot successfully fulfill its role as the ruling party. But the very fact that it is a ruling party poses a threat to moral authority, for, as the participants in the debate rightly pointed out during it, "power corrupts." And this is why special attention and enhanced exactingness must be shown toward these questions, toward observance of the party member's ethics. In addition, it must not be forgotten that moral purification is not a one-shot deal but a constant process.

[Interviewer] Evidently, not all the conclusions and proposals made during the discussion of questions of party ethics in the twenties have stood the test of time. What amendments has time made to them? How do we—people enriched by new knowledge, joys, and suffering, enriched by the experience of development over the difficult 60-odd years that have passed since that debate—view those same questions?

[Guseynov] You are right. A critical approach must also be taken to the lessons of the past, above all in the light of the experience of the subsequent development of our party, the country, and all mankind. And here I would like to emphasize two aspects.

First. The participants in the debate proceeded from the conviction that what serves the cause of the party and the revolution is ethical. But these points need concretizing. It is very important to know what real meaning they have. For example, A. Solts' final speech on the report of the Central Control Commission at the 11th party congress contains these arguments: "If some comrade is confused as to whether or not to give a bribe in a particular case, he must go to the organization and ask what he should do in that case—in general, give the bribe and ensure that the one who takes the bribe also gets appropriate retribution, because if bread has to be brought in you must see to it that it is. It is a matter of expediency. But it does not touch on ethics." It is very difficult to understand the meaning of these words: Is it being said here that anything can be done in the name of party expediency; that practical necessity sometimes forces people to take actions incompatible with morality; or that a party organization's decision lifts the burden of moral doubts from a person? These are all different—I would say, very different—interpretations. The consequences of such vagueness of moral criteria soon told.

At a certain stage of development, starting in the late twenties, ethics was filled with social-utilitarian content, and morality began to be identified with party-state expediency. It was considered that what is necessary for the Soviet state is moral. Given such an approach, moral assessments proved extremely vague, and one day it was possible to praise to the skies what the day before had been condemned equally angrily. In short, any practical need of the state was unfailingly elevated also to a moral virtue. Precisely within the framework of such ethics the actions, for example, of children who publicly renounced parents who had been subject to repression were considered perfectly normal and worthy. I do not want to say that such conclusions proceeded without fail from the general definitions of morality and ethics given within the framework of the debate which we are examining. No. But they did not rule out such conclusions.

Today we proceed from recognition of the intrinsic value [samotsennyy] of morality. In life, of course, many of us sometimes have to do something that conflicts with moral norms and moral feeling. But nothing, no practical expediency, can justify this and turn moral evil into good. Good cannot be exchanged for evil. As the poet said: "Good remains good in the past, future, and present." And in light of our present-day ethical ideas, in light of the level of maturity that the public awareness of Soviet society has attained, we must reread Lenin's famous words: "Communist morality is founded on the struggle to strengthen and complete communism." Read them in order to reveal more clearly their true humanist meaning. V.I. Lenin spoke of serving communism, and communism is real humanism, the social connection among people when the free development of all depends on the free development of each. Consequently, the true substance of Lenin's formula will not be distorted if we say: Only what is moral and ethical really serves the cause of communism.

The other aspect concerns the forms of struggle for the purity of party mores. The participants in the debate believed that this is achieved by means of the party organization's direct control over the conduct of Communists, as well as by means of regular purges. Life has shown that this can be neither the only nor the main direction. In

my view, the decisive battlefield, where the success of the battle for the party member's pure and honest makeup is being determined today, is the democratization of internal party life from the viewpoint of the redistribution of power between the "upper circles" and the "lower strata" (let us use the twenties terminology) in favor of the lower strata. As well as the renewal and enrichment of the forms of the party's link with society and the enhancement of the degree of its accountability to society (the more decisive extension of the norms of glasnost to party life; the wider involvement of nonparty people in responsible leading work, and so forth). This is how these questions were raised at the 19th party conference.

[Interviewers] One cannot here sidestep a delicate issue—the question of party workers' so-called privileges. What do you, as an ethician, think about this?

[Guseynov] This is a complex question, and cannot be resolved unequivocally. It is, of course, possible to say "No privileges!" which from some very general ethical viewpoint will be correct. But such an abstract judgment elucidates little. To have power and be the ruling party is already a privilege. It belongs to all Communists, particularly and primarily those in leading posts. The possession of power is also associated with some practical, material comforts. We must, consequently, speak of the extent, limits, and size of these privileges—both of power itself and of the benefits that go with it. Incidentally, the party conference outlined specific measures in this area, and they will, hopefully, put everything in its place.

And again, in my opinion this question must be "legalized" and discussed, as it was discussed, for example, in the twenties. The problem is not so much one of privileges in themselves as of ensuring that party workers lead a common life with the people, "in the world," and that their status in life does not remain, as people now say, a zone which is free from criticism and which, for this reason alone, arouses unhealthy interest. Here, of course, we must not confine ourselves to the argument that each department in our country has its own privileges. The party, for all that, is not an ordinary department.

[Interviewer] Let us return to history. One more question, the last one now. Why was the debate on party ethics not continued, and why were its materials virtually forgotten for a long time? Or were they banned?

[Guseynov] There was no ban. There is a different way things can pass from memory. People also forget what they want to forget. In my view, the main reason for things being forgotten in this case was that political life in the country and internal party relations during the years of the personality cult and during the stagnation times had acquired features incompatible with genuine ethics. But we are turning with all the more interest to this page in our society's spiritual history today after the 19th party conference, which was an important stage on the path of the party's moral purification.

Ukraine's V. Kavun Awarded Order of Lenin

PM2408145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on Awarding Comrade V.M. Kavun the Order of Lenin.

Comrade Vasiliy Mikhaylovich Kavun, first secretary of the Zhitomir Communist Party of the Ukraine Obkom, is awarded the Order of Lenin for his great services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

[Signed] A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow. 12 August 1988.

AUCCTU Leader on Workers' Legal Protection

LD2408184288 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—It is impossible to ensure more democracy if people do not know their rights. Therefore the Soviet trade unions have decided to arrange for general legal education for all sectors of the country's population," the TASS correspondent was told by Karatay Turysov, secretary of the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU). "In practical life one encounters the denial of laws by the administration and ignorance of their own rights above all of labour rights by trade union members. This is the continuing effect of the long period of stagnation in Soviet society when rights and interests of the workers and members of their families were quite frequently violated. The study of laws by everybody, the need for which was mentioned at the latest congress of the USSR trade unions is not only a system of lectures and talks on legal issues, but also the drawing closer of legal aid to every working man. While until recently, trade union legal advice offices functioned only in the capitals of the republics, regions and territorial centres, nowadays legal advice offices acting on a voluntary unpaid basis are set up in every work collective with the personnel of more than three hundred. Lawyers on pension, people not on the regular staff of the legal inspection of labour in trade unions are drawn into the work at the legal advice offices.

As Turysov said, the service of legal protection is now changing from top to bottom. In Moscow, for example, the central legal advice office has opened where everyone can get an explanation of the provisions of legislative acts regulating the order of the dismissal of workers and their employment. Recently the trade union newspaper TRUD issued in a daily print of more than 19 million copies has ever more published legal advice on different subjects. [sentence as received]

Pedagogical Sciences Academy To Reorganize
PM2408100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum directives, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved proposals by the USSR Council of Ministers on reorganizing the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

By virtue of a resolution passed by the USSR Council of Ministers on this issue, it has been decided to reorganize the academy with a view to enhancing the role and responsibility of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in the provision of scientific backup for the development of public education, giving it an interdepartmental nature, and stepping up its influence on higher and secondary specialized education and on the system for improving cadres' training.

In this context a commission for the academy's reorganization will be formed consisting of scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and VUZ's, innovators in teacher training, representatives of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Foundation, and representatives of creative unions and other public organizations. The commission will be assigned the task of drawing up proposals on the basic tasks, new structure, and number of departments of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the number of vacancies to be filled.

Elections of new members of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and of the academy's president and Presidium will be held in November-December 1988. It is envisaged that new members of the academy will be elected by full members of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and members of the commission for the academy's reorganization.

It is envisaged that the newly elected USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Presidium will elaborate the basic avenues of scientific research, prepare a draft of the academy's new statute, and organize its wide discussion. The Presidium must review the network of the academy's scientific institutions and their structure and research topics, and will also conduct certification of the academy's scientific associates and leadership.

The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Presidium, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the USSR Ministry of Finance have been instructed to submit proposals by 1 January 1989 on strengthening the material, technical, educational, experimental, and information base of the academy's scientific institutions, and to complete the transition of academic scientific institutions to category I remuneration of workers' labor.

The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences will be under the jurisdiction of the USSR State Committee for Public Education.

Growth of Organized Crime, 'Gang Rule' Examined
PM2408134788 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Aug 88 p 13

[Vladimir Sokolov article: "Gang Rule"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Readers probably recall the recent (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 29) conversation between our observer Yuriy Shchekochikhin and the criminologist Aleksandr Gurov on organized crime.

We offer you yet another view of this problem. The "consonance" between the two articles, written independently of each other, only confirms the accuracy of the overall picture. The differences in the conclusions and assessments should serve as a reminder that we are only just starting to understand this most dangerous phenomenon, which our society is encountering for the first time in its history.

On the evening of 6 February the country watched the last episode of "Octopus 2" and went to bed sympathizing with the commissioner who was still unable to cope alone with the accursed mafia. But it was also clear that in the next series the bold, penetrating, and—above all—elegant commissioner would reveal the identity of "mamma di Cosimo."

On the night of 6 February two motor inspectors were found shot alongside their battered Zhiguli without number plates on a side road near Andizhan (in the Fergana Valley). The militia immediately put "Siren"—an interception operation whereby all MVD forces were put on standby and thousands of alerted soldiers and militiamen shut off the republic's roads, stations, and airports—into action. At that time, of course, the mass media did not report anything, and the masses continued to follow the problems of the Catania commissioner. Yet had even one television reporter been part of the operations group we would have had a gripping lesson on two topics right away—namely, in what our ordinary countrymen can be involved when they join a criminal group, and how our ordinary law enforcement organs can work when they really get down to things.

O. Gaydanov, the republic's deputy prosecutor, and E. Didorenko, Uzbek SSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, flew in to Andizhan on the morning of the 7th despite bad weather. The investigation was already under way but with difficulty, since the snow, slush, and

the bandits' foresight had destroyed what criminalists call the "trail." Everything, of course, could be established from the fingerprints and the car itself—but that would take time, time! These routine checks and examinations had left the criminals minutes, if not hours, in hand to consider the situation, leave the narrow valley, and disappear into our enormous country. The already customary demarcation between the militia and the prosecutor's office would allow them to slip by between the two. The task demanded a pooling of forces.

The story of how in the very first hours after the event the military, prosecutors, and the party obkom and oblispolkom joined forces would be a tale in itself. Taxi drivers, voluntary militia workers, and motor vehicle inspectors carried out the instructions from headquarters at top speed. V. Li, Andizhan City's young prosecutor, was the brains behind the investigation. R. Abdullayev, chief of the oblast internal affairs administration, worked wonders checking new leads, while the whole operational might of the republic militia and the necessary contacts with other republics were directed by Major General E. Didorenko. O. Gaydanov, who had acquired unique experience as a prosecutor during the most crucial years of restructuring for Uzbekistan, directed the investigation and kept a close watch on its legality. Many other people comprising the core of the operations group could also be named, and all of them worked straight through for 66 hours, irrespective of their titles or positions!

On the second day the accumulated evidence led to the arrest in Mayli-Say in neighboring Kirghizia of Viktor O. and Vasiliy V., two young people with no fixed occupation. That very day the guys recounted how everything happened, showed where they buried their sawed-off shotguns, and named an accomplice—Aleksandr Ch.—who at the time was still at large in the mountains but was eventually captured after a third sleepless night.

Then something that would have been even more interesting for television viewers began—questioning and forensic experiments which would have produced for our delectation a disgusting, pitiful, and monstrous picture of a "group" crime. From the trio's businesslike explanations we would have learned how they borrowed the Zhiguli from a friend, loaded up the sawed-off shotguns, and set off for the city of Osh to relieve some car service operator of 200,000 [not further identified]. We would have seen how they failed to find this person and were returning empty-handed when they were stopped near Andizhan at night by a State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration patrol, tried to escape in order to dump the shotguns, and were caught by the militia "Volga"....

We would have learned, perhaps, how much this terrible crime, by just one by no means successful group, cost the republic.

Our story might not have been as sophisticated as the "Octopuses" but if, on seeing it, just one group had come to its senses and gotten rid of its guns without firing them, the video pictures or the descriptions by us reporters would not have been in vain.

But it is not yet our custom to invite reporters "on the job." It is thought not worthwhile to pursue sensational stories.

Anzorov, Boloshin, Etc. [subhead]

Here are a few figures from Uzbekistan's criminal statistics.

The Anzorov gang, comprising 47 members from various cities of the republic, carried out 64 major crimes in Tashkent, Tashkent Oblast, and even the North Osetian ASSR. A pistol, a revolver, a sawed-off shotgun, a militia uniform, and several cars were confiscated from the criminals.

The 21-strong Boloshin gang existed for 4 years. It carried out more than 30 attacks on "businessmen." Two sets of militia uniforms, false ID's, firearms, cars, video equipment, and a large collection of films on the work of Western police were confiscated from the criminals. The gang's ringleader was an engineer and a CPSU member; the other bandits—mostly Komsomol members and outstanding sportsmen—were well thought of at work. And that is no surprise—Boloshin did not let drug addicts or alcoholics get anywhere near him; he needed strong, clever, and disciplined guys.

The Grechishkin gang murdered 3 militia staffers and carried out 4 savings bank raids and 19 dangerous and serious crimes in all. The Tumashunis gang had engaged in murders and carried out seven muggings, one of which was on a bank teller.... It would take too long to list them all. Let me say that in the last few years alone the republic's internal affairs organs have "smashed" more than a dozen such gangs.

And just think—not one existed by itself. A gang can only count on prospering when it has reliable contacts with the militia, the prosecutor's office, and soviet and party organs. There are plenty of examples of that. For instance, during the Anzorov case a militia major kept company with the cutthroats and accepted a large bribe not to expose the gang. Other militia officials supplied other bandits with information for a fee, and there were even those who went "on the job" with the people they were covering up for.

How did this become possible? Was it mere chance that the alliance between the criminal world and law and order organs went so far that the rayon prosecutor, for instance, considered it necessary to use the services of hired killers, and the chief of a militia department helped a dairy plant director's mistress to "eliminate" her boring husband?

Of course not. Just as it would be hard for gangs of criminals to arm themselves without the connivance and sometimes even the assistance of the guardians of the law, so the transformations of guardians into criminals would be impossible without the tacit encouragement of their leaders. It was no accident that 98 percent of former oblast internal affairs administration leaders in Uzbekistan, the republic's deputy internal affairs ministers, and Minister Yakhyayev himself have recently been indicted on charges of bribe-taking and other abuses.

It can be seen from many examples that those to whom the state entrusted the protection of law and order and control of society's moral health were the same people who not only turned out to be members of criminal gangs but even created camouflaged, predatory, and fantastically greedy gangs in their own areas. How should we describe the packs of bribe-takers dislodged in various oblasts by obkom secretaries such as Karimov? How should we describe the commission structure for the buying and selling of jobs and the collection and passing of gifts on "up the line"—a structure patiently built up by Rashidov which almost replaced the party apparatus during the years of stagnation? We could, of course, further use the sonorous word "mafia," which brings to mind pictures of elegant commissioners as an antidote. But I think that the gangs are a mafia. Our own kind of mafia, which we have always wholeheartedly opposed.

Men of Standing [subhead]

And here's the strange thing—whereas the so-called "bureaucratic" gangs may not have been routed yet but have been pretty well shaken up by restructuring, and their ringleaders, having won nationwide "renown," are now mostly behind bars, the situation with "free-wheeling" gangs is the complete opposite.

It has already been reported that a certain Mr X—unknown to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers but an exceptionally prestigious figure within the criminal community—was shot and killed in Tashkent in February. He was so well known that X's funeral is remembered in Tashkent to this day.

The street on which virtually all the houses belong to a powerful clan were literally chockablock during the funeral with imposing men in leather and mink hats, their ladies in stylish diamonds, and their cars. The flowers, which could not all fit into the house, spilled over onto the street. The coffin was carried out and then borne around the city above a crowd of around 1,500 relatives and comrades-in-arms of the deceased, as well as similar "men of standing" [avtoritety] who had flown in from all around the country. The not less than 50 wreaths were carried before the coffin by friends, bodyguards, and ordinary barmen, butchers, tea-house workers, gamblers, and former sportsmen-turned-bouncers; eyewitnesses said that there had been no bigger funeral in Tashkent since the death of Rashidov himself.

Actually, it was not so much a funeral as a show of force which even surprised the militia with the cohesion of these people and their blatant challenge to those who would definitely be monitoring such an interesting assembly. Experienced people knew that photographs would provide additional proof of their contacts with X, yet they still came. Even those who hated X while he was alive and would fight with him for a piece of the action came. They could not fail to come. The action, it turns out, unites them more strongly than envy, fear, and even death can divide them.

In V. Fomin's article "How They Buried Us," our newspaper reported the ceremonial funeral in Rostov of the ringleader of a commercial gang. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA then reported an equally magnificent funeral in Ashkhabad. Recently, it was said, thieves had been buried at Moscow's Vagankovskoye Cemetery with great pomp. Some kind of new and quite real force is clearly asserting itself through these burial ceremonies.

For most of us the word "thief" conjures up an image of an unshaven man in a cloth cap and leather boots with a cigarette permanently attached to his lower lip. Inside the boot, of course, is a knife, which he uses to maintain his standing among the lowlifes. But this image is an unreliable anachronism. Today's "thieves" are "men of standing," they are in no way identifiable either in the street or at the Bolshoy Theater, and rely not on knives but on the millions that they control. Their power nowadays lies not in their fists but in their "kitty"—the criminal world's insurance policy, into which dues have to be paid by all professionals, from the con man working alone to gang leaders. The kitty oils wheels—that is to say, it provides money, vodka, and drugs for people serving sentences, and helps their families on the outside. The kitty pays for a vacation for prisoners when they are released and provides them with housing and goods, sometimes even a car. If need be, the kitty can be used to compromise an investigator and buy a judge, or alternatively to hire a lawyer or a hit man.

Now you should realize why it is so important for the kitty to be in reliable hands (remember the street bought by a clan) and to be intelligently operated. A "man of standing" does not let capital rot in cellars, he can always find a profitable use for it. Before, this use would be underground workshops. Now things are easier—criminals are helped more and more often to "launder" stolen money by cooperatives (not voluntarily, needless to say).

The contacts between today's "men of standing" are virtually infinite, since they "cultivate" not only their own "areas," but have their own people in law enforcement, party, and soviet organs.

The "men of standing" find a way to pass the kitty money over for safe-keeping to well-known people with large incomes—singing stars, for instance, in whose accounts the presence of large sums of money will not arouse suspicion—and thus a star falls into their

clutches. They send call girls to the progeny of important leaders, get the youngsters used to perversions, cards, and drugs, and soon their influential fathers fall into the same clutches. Carrot and stick, bribery and blackmail are used so skillfully that one is hardly surprised to learn that in one of their conversations Churbanov and Rashidov had a lively discussion about the state of affairs of T., an "ordinary" tea-house worker, or that the "ordinary" physical training instructor K. had started to remove those who for the first time had begun to combat organized crime in Uzbekistan—former republic prosecutor A. Buturlin, and O. Gaydanov and E. Didorenko, with whom we are already acquainted.

And this entire turbulent and, for society, extremely dangerous activity by "men of standing" takes place, as it were, over and above the law, since they never commit any, so to speak, ordinary crimes covered by the statute books. They have plenty of ordinary people to do their work for them, they "just" direct their subordinates' actions. And the Criminal Code makes no provision for this!

But perhaps there are too few "men of standing" in our country for the code to worry about them?

V. Pakhomov, chief of the MVD All-Union Scientific Research Institute, believes: "Experts currently put the number of particularly dangerous leaders organizing crimes at 1,000-3,000."

There is a whole regiment of these "particularly dangerous" people!

Bureaucracy and Crime [subhead]

We who have known since childhood that the only place for gangsters is in the concrete jungles of Chicago find it hard to recognize the unpleasant thought that our society not only has no natural immunity against the mafia but is even, on the contrary, susceptible to it. As long as corrupt apparatchiks exploited working people by bribes drawn from the agrarian sector and trade (and this lasted for decades), they could still afford to be fastidious about the criminal element. But the situation has changed. Cases such as the "cotton case," the "Rostov case," and the "Yeliseyev case" have substantially reduced this channel for satisfying bureaucrats. And they have been forced to seek a new channel and have found one in the shape of bribes from cooperative members and "individual workers" and in the shape of a share of the criminal kitty.

We curse bureaucrats as the enemies of restructuring. But corrupt officials are also potential patrons and submissive servants for the most highly organized types of criminal activity. The question is not just that bribe-takers do not mind where bribes come from, but also that "men of standing" are no worse than embezzlers in allowing bureaucrats to prey on working people, thereby maintaining the bureaucrats' social status. And they can even reinforce their status. How? By the mafia using all its power to ensure that officials that suit them keep their jobs—to which end they will stop neither at bribery, nor at scare campaigns against voters, nor at removing an excessively honest rival.

So if we give up our illusion that organized crime cannot exist under socialism, we have to accept another reality—the mafia bosses will not limit themselves to infighting for areas of criminal influence, sooner or later the increasingly strong "godfathers" will enter the political struggle, and very vigorously to boot. Dissension, discord, and the weakening of power—and ultimately the law—are their natural goals. There are plenty of proponents of their policies in our country: from ardent young extremists to people disgruntled about never-ending shortages, from nationalist intellectuals to bribable apparatus functionaries—it's just a question of money!

And the "men of standing" have money to spare.

Has the Lion Leaped? [subhead]

An extremely important question is: What phase is organized crime now in and just how organized is it? A theoretician has partly answered this question (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 20 July 1988). But what would a practical worker fighting the gangs every day and every hour say? I turned to Maj Gen E. Didorenko:

[Sokolov] Has the lion leaped, Eduard Alekseyevich?

[Didorenko] And how. But it's still in midair, to continue your newspaper's felicitous image. The structure typical of the real mafia has not yet formed in the lower levels of the criminal world; they are still in ferment. Groups most often emerge and dissolve arbitrarily, although the increasingly clear trend is that once a group emerges it grows stronger and sooner or later becomes a large formation. But at the moment the lower levels do not yet have strict specializations, nor are all their actions coordinated from above—as is the case with the mafia in America or Italy. On the other hand, everything is now ready in the upper strata of crime. Major "men of standing" have become established and their spheres of influence have been defined both in terms of territories and in terms of areas. Our current lack of preparedness to act against "new" crime also works in their favor. We do not have much time left to prepare, since if we were to fail to prevent the completion of their full organization it would be virtually impossible to deal with a "real" mafia—as is proved by the experience of even such developed states as the United States and Japan.

[Sokolov] So what needs to be done?

[Didorenko] First and foremost we must set up special subunits controlled from a single center to fight organized crime. We need large additional funds, and I think that society should allocate them right away. Staffers in these subunits will have to be paid very well for the risk

and their high professionalism, they will have to be armed with equipment that is not worse but better than that currently available to criminals. We must introduce into legislation responsibility for actions to consolidate a criminal environment. Without these measures we will not cope with the mafia. [Didorenko ends]

But here is yet another question which just cannot be dodged.

"Oleg Ivanovich," I asked Gaydanov, "suppose that from now on we solve every crime as quickly as the Andizhan murder. Suppose we have a 100-percent success rate and a 100-percent just court. Will crime fall?"

"Except that this set of circumstances is hardly likely," was the reply.

I had asked my question after attending in Andizhan Jail the interrogation of the group accused of the murder of the militiamen with which I began my tale. Not one of the trio had a real profession or took part in social production—there are major employment problems in the small town of Mayli-Say. And there are many such towns in Central Asia (there are more than 500,000 such people in Uzbekistan alone) and their numbers are increasing.

Last year alone more than 8,000 young men and women were unable to start work or continue their studies. There are more and more cases of young women who come from villages to enter a city college ending up in an underground brothel, and of young guys in the same impossible situation (they cannot return to their villages where they know there is no work!) starting to pick pockets—for they have to live somehow. And if society does not help them, you can be sure that sooner or later the kitty will.

Every day some young people take their first steps toward crime and becoming gamblers or a dealer's assistant—anything, as long as they are professionals. They get their bearings and join a group. If they are lucky they rise higher, to the level of those who do not dirty themselves with criminal doings. If they have enough strength, wits, and toughness they can become "men of standing," steal millions, control the most important areas of the economic mechanism, "stifle" the social control system, and enjoy the friendship of entirely unsuspecting cultural figures.

The road to such "heights" is currently open to anyone, and that is clearly the main danger today.

In talking about the rise in crime, we replace the frightening new quality of crime with the usual quantitative concept of "growth" and retain the illusion that it is possible to fight organized crime by reducing the percentage of robberies or hijackings. But the mafia pyramid is not just growing, it is building itself up within the pyramid of state power and is doing so vigorously and in many areas simultaneously. It is given the opportunity for such a development by the greed of certain officials and the complacency of others. Money gives it vigor. Social problems currently provide it with unlimited material.

It is not hard to see that this is indeed the case. Until recently executive power in entire regions belonged essentially to criminals—albeit respectable ones. Very many people still live well by illegal means in different sectors of our society (trade, for instance). Degeneration is involving new strata of people—remember that the Boloshin gang were a real working element, specialists!

If we continue refusing to acknowledge the obvious, if we allow a pyramid of organized crime to be constructed in parallel with state power, then the high-handed "godfathers" will remove a section of the nomenklatura from the levers of social administration. Our own long-established bureaucracy will start to be overshadowed by gang rule and the power of bandits.

This is not beyond the realms of possibility.

'Huge' Nuclear Reactor Planned Near Finland

AU2408123888 Paris AFP in English 1232 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Helsinki, Aug 24 (AFP)—The Soviet Union has decided to build a huge 6,000 megawatt nuclear power station in Soviet Karelia near the Finnish border, it was reported here on Wednesday.

The leading daily HELSINGIN SANOMAT said the Soviet authorities had confirmed that the six-reactor power station would be operational before the end of this century.

The power station will be located at Karhumaeki, north of Lake Onega only some 100 kms east of the Finnish border. It is due to meet the expanding energy needs of Leningrad and Soviet Karelia.

Earlier it was reported that the Soviet Union planned to build a four-reactor power station in the Kola Peninsula near Murmansk.

Bomb on Civilian Airliner Fails To Explode

LD2408121288 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 24 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—A woman who came to Kuybyshev from Kiev by air in a TU-154 plane on August 18 found in her luggage an explosive device that had not worked, PRAVDA wrote today.

The woman whose name was not given by the newspaper came to Kuybyshev together with her 15-year-old daughter. She was unpacking her luggage in the flat of her relative when she found a plywood box stuffed with

metal parts in a cardboard box instead of the food she had put there in Kiev when she had been packing her things together with her husband.

The women handed over the find, which turned out to be an explosive device, to a militia station. The militia alerted engineers who defused the explosive device and rendered it harmless. The hand of an electronic-mechanical alarm clock which was part of the explosive device was put on the 10 figure. The device was to explode 35 minutes before the landing of the plane. Fortunately, the mechanism did not work.

Militia workers who conducted an investigation in Kiev found in the house and garage belonging to the woman passenger's family the things similar to those of which the explosive device was made. It was found out as well that her husband disappeared after learning about the safe landing of the plane in Kuybyshev.

According to a preliminary conclusion of specialists, the explosive device was made by the woman passenger's husband, a former Army colonel now working as an engineer at one of Kiev plants. The device had a tremendous explosive potential. Experts are trying to find out why it did not work. The investigation into the criminal case is going on.

Protests Block Rostov Garbage Plant Project
PM2508075588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondents V. But and V. Korneyev: "Decision Made by Citizens' Meeting"]

[Excerpt] Rostov-na-Donu—The construction of a garbage disposal plant which threatened to worsen the already complex ecological situation in Rostov-na-Donu has been stopped.

But before the city authorities made the decision to temporarily halt work on the future enterprise, there was a lot of controversy surrounding the subject. Let us note that passions flared up quite recently—a month ago—although the construction project is itself "long in the tooth," so to speak: The first stone was laid in the early eighties. The lack of glasnost at that time allowed the city leadership to choose the site of the plant at its own discretion, without consulting with anyone, and give the orders for construction work to begin.

But then, in February 1988, the city's evening newspaper took up the story. Scientists used the newspaper to sound the alarm.

The level of air pollution is 2.5 times above the norm. If we look at the local waterways, the symptoms are extremely alarming—crayfish have disappeared from the Don. The new plant would pollute the atmosphere, and in the surrounding area (which, incidentally, is officially designated a residential and leisure zone) conditions would deteriorate for the inhabitants of the neighboring Rostov Zoo, which the people of Rostov had to stand up for quite recently to save it from a highway which threatened to cut through its territory.

We must point out that while the specialists were drawing up the plans and the construction workers were building the plant—which took a long time, as usual—its equipment and technology naturally became outmoded. The plans for the enterprise did not provide for gas purification and dust collecting facilities.

Fire service officers claim that it is enough for a person to inhale five lungfuls of the smoke produced by burning off modern polymer materials to completely lose his bearings. Calculations show that the city's daily domestic waste contains 10-15 tonnes of plastic and polyethylene.

At first, representatives of the city authorities and planners said that the plant would not do any harm. There are others like it in Sochi, Pyatigorsk, Murmansk, and Leningrad, they said, and there are no problems with them. Citizens objected, saying: We have seen Pyatigorsk's "well-being." And in the other places these plants are a long way from the city.

The matter was decided by a citizens' meeting held in one of the residential areas adjacent to the plant.

Many people spoke at the meeting: scientists, specialists, and representatives of the public. Their arguments were impressive. In the evening of the same day there was a gorispolkom session, which discussed the questions raised by the participants in the meeting. They adopted the appropriate decision: Work to build the garbage disposal plant must be stopped. [passage omitted]

Reader Protests Pollution in Krasnodar Kray
PM2408105888 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 88 p 13

[Letter from labor veteran O. Razmakhnin of Krasnoarmeyskaya, Krasnodar Kray, on readers' letters page: "The Price of Rice"; date of letter not given]

[Text] Our Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon is the country's biggest rice growing region. Every year a vast quantity of highly toxic chemicals is poured and scattered onto the rice fields, and the whole population of the rayon is suffering as a result.

The local newspaper has already raised this problem, citing figures that make your hair stand on end. Judge for yourselves: In the last 5 years the total incidence of cancer in the rayon has increased by 27 percent, lung cancer by 50 percent, and stomach cancer by 30 percent.... The proportion of newborn children with birth defects is high—between 55.6 and 60 percent.

We, the inhabitants of Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon, feel that chemical warfare has been declared against us and that nobody will stop it. But we want to die of old age, not the effects of poison! A simple example from my personal life: My son, who is a veteran of the war in Afghanistan, decided to go and study at the military academy, leaving my grandson with me for the period of his studies. On his first night here, the boy began to vomit and his temperature rose to 38.5 degrees. The doctor advised us to take him out of the rayon immediately, which we did.

Please, help us to stop all this.

O. Razmakhnin, labor veteran,

Krasnoarmeyskaya,

Krasnodar Kray

Readers Comment on Glasnost in Media

PM2408152788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Aug 88 p 1

[Letters Department correspondent N. Rusakova article: "The Week's Mailbag"]

[Excerpts] We received 3,582 letters in July, 625 of which were in response to published material.

As you can see, letters in response to articles make up a considerable portion of our mail. Add to these the letters in response to material carried by other publications and television programs, and you can get an idea of the position now occupied by the mass media in people's lives. "So far glasnost is the main (if not the only) gain of restructuring. After all, it is through newspapers and journals (so far mainly the central ones) that the ideas of restructuring captivate the masses and render it irreversible. And if there are forces in our country that wish to apply the brakes to restructuring or thwart it, their main blow will be aimed against the press," Doctor of Technical Sciences Yu. Chekhovoy writes from Kiev.

Nonetheless, by no means does everyone share this opinion. "It seems as if the press, radio, and television have once again shut up following the 19th party conference," according to pensioner M. Safronova from Sverdlovsk.

Our reader may have gotten this impression because now there is less sensationalism and fewer exposures in the press. There are more articles attempting to calmly investigate and analyze both our past and our present. This week's mailbag contained quite a few letters on moral issues. This is no accident, since renewal must affect every person and change his thinking and his relations with those around him. Improvement in the condition of society is unimaginable without rejecting double standards, dogmatism, and ostentation—the legacy of the times of stagnation. All this will not disappear overnight. [passage omitted]

Of course, it is not easy to simply give up the way of life to which people have become accustomed over the years. The restructuring of mentality is a lengthy and complex process. Some people become flustered in the face of rapidly changing life. "I have no strength left to read newspapers. The party apparatus is criticized. Writers, composers, and theatrical workers are slandering each other. Every issue contains criticism of Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev. I believe that this 'elimination of blank spots in history' is tactless and uncultured, a moral crime. Any activity by the most eminent people was deemed worthy in the past. We were proud of them. Cities bearing their names—Kalinin, Gorkiy, Zhdanov—appeared on the motherland's map. Whose whim is it to rename them?" says reader K. Doronina from Novocheboksarsk, expressing her indignation. Such people are stubbornly unwilling to entertain any doubts and are reluctant to take a critical look at things that were inculcated in their minds in their youth. N. Kladovshchikova from Yalta, trying to justify Stalin's repressions, writes: "Can you not get this simple idea into your heads: The building of socialism would have been impossible without human costs, because enemies—capitalists and kulaks—were all around. It was necessary to act as demanded by the struggle for socialism."

Even so, however, the majority are inclined to take a bold, open, and critical look at our past. "I find it hard to understand those who defend Stalin with a stubbornness worthy of better application. I remember those times. Everyone thought of just one thing: how to survive, how to avoid being sent to the camps. After all, people were imprisoned for every imaginable reason. Esteemed editorial office! You are doing the right thing by printing articles about those times. That horror, that illegality must never be repeated. I ask just one thing: Publish fewer materials by defenders of Stalin and his time (even in today's glasnost). You cannot imagine the reaction to this by surviving victims of Stalin's camps!" artist A. Ryvlin writes from Leningrad. [passage omitted]

Life is changing swiftly now. It demands of us more tolerance toward other people's views, the rejection of certain fundamentals of the past, the ability to perceive and critically appraise new information, understanding, and humanitarianism. Developing these qualities is as difficult as displaying heroism and enthusiasm.

PRAVDA on Subscription, Publishing Plans

PM2508090788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Topical Theme: Subscriptions" and the general heading "We Want You To Choose Us...."]

[Text] The period of subscriptions to newspapers and magazines which got off to a massive start this month is a tense time. This is true both for those who want to

subscribe to various publications in the new year and are hurrying to register their subscription and for workers in newspaper and magazine editorial offices.

There is no need to explain why there is such interest in the press and why lines are forming outside newspaper kiosks. One thing is clear: Its prestige has grown.

The press today plays an important role in restructuring. It has done a lot, having become a platform for glasnost, a platform of the people's opinion on the most important questions of party policy, and a platform for keen debates on the most topical problems.

Today a newspaper or magazine cannot be run the way editors and journalists did it 5 years ago. Editorial collectives have of course not yet accomplished everything, and they too are restructuring themselves, but there have been improvements. Suffice it to say that this year print runs of newspapers and magazines have increased by almost 20 million copies compared with 1987. Readers' demand has put the papermakers in a difficult position—there is not enough paper. That is why some demands for subscriptions will go unmet. Of course, the present situation is distressing but it cannot be ignored.

This year PRAVDA's print run is 10.7 million copies. "Recently the newspaper's content has changed," we read in letters to the editorial office. "It has become closer to people and more interesting." But PRAVDA workers are well aware that everything by no means has been done, and that they will not gain the readers' respect without a thorough restructuring of their work and without a constant creative quest.

Our main themes in 1989 will be: the renewal of party life, the political reform of society and its democratization, the lessons and experience of economic reform, the fulfillment of the food program, the implementation of the party's social policy, and so forth. Readers have been asking us to continue the "PRAVDA on Friday" feature and historical, literary, artistic, family, and youth themes. These wishes fit in with our plans. The discussion page will be a permanent feature. The editorial office attaches special significance to working people's letters. This year it seems likely that over 750,000 will be received. Rubrics such as "Reflections on Most Urgent Matters," "Life as It Is," and so forth will be featured in the newspaper. The editorial office needs letters because they contain the breath of life and different people's opinions and attitudes. We will strive to reflect as fully as possible the wealth of ideas and feelings contained in the mail bag. We shall improve the study of international themes and try to be more prompt and more professional.

We make no bones about it: We want you to subscribe to PRAVDA. The editorial collective is concerned that each issue be bright and "readable" and also snapped up. But we also frankly state that we shall not go in for cheap, short-lived sensations. We promise you one thing: Together with you, the readers, we will make this the kind of newspaper whose comments help the cause of restructuring, the cause of the party, and of the people. And we will ensure that PRAVDA's pages reflect your concerns, thoughts, and feelings, everything which we call "daily life."

A few more words about subscriptions in general. The USSR Ministry of Communications attributes the restrictions to, among other things, a desire to allocate more publications to the retail market. But here due care should be given to the prompt delivery of newspapers to all kiosks and to generally strengthening the retail trade network. And it is also necessary, incidentally, to take account of the fact that the sale of periodicals in the countryside has hardly been organized at all. Therefore, rural subscribers must be given certain privileges and advantages. Public distributors of the press, who are now working actively in labor collectives, are as usual paying special attention to the propaganda and distribution of party publications. Agitation is most effective here when the distributors themselves are well aware of the strong points of this press.

Last year PRAVDA received many complaints that individual subscriptions without cash payment were not permitted. Working people's requests have been satisfied. It is now possible to take out a subscription through the accounts office of your enterprise, institution, or kolkhoz in 3-month installments. Nor are there any restrictions on corporate subscriptions for enterprises which have transferred to economic accountability and self-financing.

Now is the time to critically analyze the work of all the links in the "editorial office-reader" chain to ensure that the newspaper or magazine arrives on time and is well-printed.

Subscription Limits, Anti-Stalin Monument Cited

PM2408151188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Aug 88 p 1

["Our Opinion!" roundup of readers' letters compiled by duty editors A. Gasparyan and M. Simonova]

[Excerpts] On Limited Subscriptions [subhead]

R. Balbutska, Minsk:

Subscriptions have closed even for publications like NOVYY MIR, OGONEK, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which have never before been limited.

The bulk of copies will be distributed to enterprises and institutions, and pensioners are advised to apply to veterans councils at their places of residence.

We were told at the Moskovskiy Rayon Veterans Council that the distribution of limited copies will be determined according to merit, as recorded in personnel

records. Preference will be given to Heroes of Socialist Labor, Heroes of the Soviet Union, and personal pensioners. It is obvious that the majority of other pensioners will have no chance to take out a subscription. Is this democratic? [passage omitted]

On Building a Monument to the Victims of Repression [subhead]

A. Tkachenko, Belgorod:

There is talk about selecting a site to build the monument. I believe that the most venerated site—by the Kremlin Wall—is already occupied by Stalin, Vyshinskiy, and some other culprits of repression. And while monuments to these people are still located there, it would be a sacrilege to build monuments to their victims and to seek places of honor for them. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Reviews Book on Self-Management
PM2508100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Aug 88 Second Edition p2

[B. Zhirovov book review under the rubric "Among Books": "Along the Path of Self-Management"]

[Text] People's self-management is an inalienable element of the socialist social system and the fullest possible manifestation of socialist democracy. This is because under socialism, according to V.I. Lenin, for the first time in history the mass of the population is motivated to independent participation not only in voting and elections but also in everyday management.

Today, when self-management has become one of the key problems in the development of Soviet society, serious discussion of its theoretical aspects acquires great significance. In this respect, our attention is drawn to a recently published book ("Self-Management: From Theory to Practice" [Samoupravleniye: Ot Teorii k Praktike] edited by Yu.A. Tikhomirov and G.Kh. Shakhnazarov; Moscow, Legal Literature Publishing House, 1988) prepared by an authors collective of legal experts and social scientists.

The book, which is written for a broad range of readers, attempts to reveal the nature of self-management and the trends in its development. Researching the history of the question on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching, possibly for the first time in our literature, the authors give a retrospective picture of the self-managing communities of the past that came into being a very long time ago. A knowledge of history helps us to better understand the nature of many of the complex sociopolitical phenomena of the present day.

The main aim of the book, however, is to show how our country is now putting the Marxist-Leninist idea of people's self-management into practice. This is no simple task: The development of organizational forms of self-management has for a long time been held back in every way by high-handed, administrative methods of leadership. Only after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum did the aim of self-organization in every cell of our society become reality. Self-management principles are developing in our country not outside but rather within our statehood, penetrating ever deeper into every pore of our state and social life, and enriching the nature of democratic centralism. In this respect, as noted in the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, the local soviets must become the main link in the socialist self-management of the people.

The book also elucidates the wealth of self-management experience in fraternal socialist countries, the study of which is a real help in the search for optimum solutions to the problems of social management. An analysis of the doctrines and practices of bourgeois self-management is also interesting and useful.

The book on self-management helps to reveal the wealth of potential in people's power and to restructure social relations in the spirit of collectivism.

Economic

Government Adopts Resolution on Consumer Goods
PM2508073588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Aug 88 Second Edition pp1-2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution "On Measures To Increase Consumer Goods Production and Accelerate the Saturation of the Market With Consumer Goods" drafted in the light of the 19th all-union party conference decisions. The draft resolution was approved by the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

The resolution stresses that accelerating the saturation of the market with diverse goods and developing work everywhere to increase their output is now one of the most urgent tasks set by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. In order to resolve this task it is necessary to take additional measures to increase the output of noncomestibles, improve their quality and their supply to the population, and achieve a breakthrough in the solution of this vital socioeconomic and political problem.

The USSR Council of Ministers notes that, despite the positive changes in this sphere in recent years, the supply of goods is still lagging behind the growth in the population's purchasing power. There is a shortage of available clothing, footwear, sociocultural and household goods, and goods for children and elderly people, and the quality of goods that are on sale is still a source of serious dissatisfaction among Soviet people.

The development of consumer goods production is being held back by the weakness of the material, scientific, and technical base and by the shortage of raw materials and

their inferior quality. Specialized capacities are being built up only slowly and, in a number of cases, poor use is made of the shift system. Sectors and enterprises producing consumer goods make inadequate use of the potential of new economic management methods and progressive forms of labor organization and incentives, including the second model of economic accountability and the lease contract.

At the same time, the resolution notes, many ministries, departments, and leaders of enterprises and associations continue to regard consumer goods production as a temporary, unprestigious sideline. Local soviets are failing to mobilize available local resources and use the growing potential of cooperatives and individual labor activity, and are poorly and inconsistently exercising their rights to coordinate work in this very important area.

Standing organs of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, and union republics' councils of ministers are not sufficiently in control of the situation, do not thoroughly analyze the causes of the shortfalls, and often stand aloof from taking effective measures to improve planning, incentives, material and technical supply, and the organization of efficient consumer goods production.

The USSR Council of Ministers believes that the situation with regard to consumer goods production and the entire organization of this work do not accord with the party line for an active social policy and improvement in the people's well-being. This has a negative impact on people's attitude to restructuring and on their faith in the feasibility of the planned transformations. Decisive, tangible changes are needed here, as well as urgent measures to rapidly increase consumer goods production—not only in order to overcome the shortfalls from the first years of the 12th 5-year period but also to ensure an increase in consumer goods production over and above the 5-year plan targets and create a reliable foundation for adopting higher plan targets in the 13th 5-year period.

Following the guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference, it is necessary to ensure a sharp increase in consumer goods production by the end of the 12th 5-year period, improve the range and quality of these goods, and normalize the population's supply of them in the main.

The councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, soviet ispolkoms, and leaders of industrial enterprises and associations are instructed to closely examine the causes of the unsatisfactory situation in the organization of consumer goods production and their supply to the population, immediately take real, effective measures, mobilize all possible reserves to increase output, improve quality, and broaden choice, and saturate the market with these goods as soon as possible in every republic, kray, oblast, city, and rayon.

Central planning and economic bodies must take additional measures to improve the economic mechanism of consumer goods production and enhance the interest of local soviets and labor collectives in increasing output and more fully satisfying popular demand.

The proposals made by standing bodies of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR Gosplan, drafted with the participation of ministries, departments, and republic and local administrative bodies, to increase the production of all noncomestible consumer goods above the 5-year plan targets in 1989-1990 to the tune of R24 billion—R9 billion in 1989 and R15 billion in 1990—were approved.

It is planned to exceed the 5-year plan targets for the production of light industry goods by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Industry, and the Estonian SSR State Committee for Industry to the tune of R2.3 billion in 1989 and R6.7 billion in 1990 in retail prices.

Those drawing up the draft plan for the 13th 5-year period are instructed to proceed from the premise that the USSR Ministry of Light Industry and the above committees must achieve output of no less than R113 billion in 1995 with a growth of 17.8 percent in comparison with 1990.

The USSR Ministry of Light Industry, union republic councils of ministers, and enterprises (associations) are instructed to ensure the retooling of production in 1989-1990 on the basis of additionally allocated modern equipment, including equipment purchased from firms in capitalist countries, with the aim of increasing the production and supply to trade organizations of the following items in 1990 against the plan for 1988: 6 million coats and short coats (an increase of 11 percent); 6.9 million suits (a 14 percent increase); 3.8 million raincoats (a 50 percent increase); 16.4 million jackets (a 46 percent increase); 44 million shirts (a 20 percent increase); 396 million knitted goods (a 22 percent increase); 78 million pairs of leather footwear (a 10 percent increase); 30 million pairs of children's tights (an 11 percent increase); and 180 million pairs of women's tights (an 80 percent increase).

It is planned to establish small enterprises (branches) in regions with free labor resources in 1989-1990 to produce knitted and sewn goods, footwear, and other goods for which the demand is not being met, using vacant administrative and other buildings for this purpose, as well as buildings made of lightweight metal structures supplied in complete sets and metal prefabricated buildings.

In order to make full use of production capacities by improving labor organization and enhancing the shift system, enterprises (associations) under the USSR Ministry of Light Industry located in regions with surplus

labor resources are being given the right to transfer to a two-shift, three-team work schedule based on the experience of light industry enterprises in the Uzbek SSR.

It is considered expedient to free light industrial enterprises from the manpower limits imposed on them by local bodies.

The USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry is instructed to ensure the commissioning in 1989 of machinery purchased abroad for the manufacture of synthetic, textured fibers and to supply enterprises and associations under the USSR Ministry of Light Industry with an extra 12,000 tonnes of these fibers in 1990 for the production of women's tights.

The resolution plans an increase in the production of noncomestible consumer goods (apart from light industry goods) by R6.7 billion in 1989 and R8.4 billion in 1990—in retail prices—against the targets set by the 5-year plan.

It is planned to increase the output of the above goods to R209 billion by 1995 with a growth of 38 percent during the 5-year period.

The resolution notes that the output of passenger cars must be increased to 2.3 million by 1995. The USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry are instructed to take urgent measures to ensure that car enthusiasts' demands for spare parts, vehicle tires, and car accessories are fully met in the next 1-2 years and also to ensure a qualitative improvement in the technical servicing available for privately owned vehicles.

It is considered expedient to allow enterprises in all sectors of the national economy to manufacture spare parts for motor vehicles, counting this as part of consumer goods production.

The resolution plans an increase in production of television sets to 13.6 million units per year in 1989-1995, with an increase of 3.5 million units against the plan for 1988; production of video recorders is to be increased to 2 million units per year against 70,000 units in 1988.

The USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry, and USSR Ministry of the Electronics Industry are instructed to ensure a high technical standard and quality in the television sets they manufacture.

The USSR Ministry of General Machine Building, USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry, USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry, USSR Ministry of Machine Building, and USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry are instructed to take the necessary measures to modernize and expand enterprises manufacturing domestic refrigerators and freezers. Thus, they would be able to create additional production capacities in the near future for 2 million refrigerators and freezers per year which are on a par with world technical standards in terms of construction, design, and energy consumption.

The USSR Council of Ministers approved the proposal from the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy to create the capacity to manufacture no less than 1 million refrigerators and freezers at enterprises in the sector by the end of the 13th 5-year period.

The USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the intersector "Elektropribor" State Association, the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Gossnab have been given the target of discussing and resolving the problems of increasing production capacities in 1989-1990 for the manufacture of 16 million low-power electric motors and 1.1 billion voltaic cells and batteries for household electrical equipment and radio electronic equipment.

In view of the growing needs of the population and the housing construction industry for wallpaper and the need to sharply improve its quality, the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry is instructed to ensure the rapid development of the material base for wallpaper production in the current 5-year period so that wallpaper output can be increased by no less than 40 percent in 1990 in comparison with the plan for 1988.

In order to fully balance consumer goods production with material resources, the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers are instructed to ensure the priority allocation of material and technical resources for 1989 and subsequent years.

In order to meet the targets set by this resolution, USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers must conduct organizational work in labor collectives to increase the output of noncomestible consumer goods and convert to the manufacture of consumer goods enterprises and production units manufacturing production and technical goods for which demand is falling.

The USSR Council of Ministers has instructed the USSR Ministry of Trade, USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, and other ministries and departments working out balances and plans for the distribution of noncomestible goods to maximally reduce the supply of goods to consumers outside the market in 1989-1990 and channel the resources thereby freed into the trade network for sale to the general population in connection with the work being done to improve the management apparatus.

USSR ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and enterprises (associations) must more broadly develop work to form cooperatives to

manufacture consumer goods and also introduce new, effective forms of labor organization: team, collective, family, lease, and individual contracts. For this purpose they must make fuller use of available production capacities, particularly on the second and third shifts.

Koryagina Interviewed on 'Shady Economy'
PM2508093988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Aug 88 p 4

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences T.I. Koryagina, chief of the USSR Gosplan Economic Scientific Research Institute Department for Social Problems and National Prosperity, by S. Mostovshchikov under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "The 'Shady' Economy"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A group of staffers at the USSR Gosplan Economic Scientific Research Institute are engaged in studying our economy's "shady economy." Their task is not to expose people in receipt of unearned income or reveal the system of organized crime in the USSR. The scientists are studying so-called "under-the-counter" commodity circulation, that is to say, the scale of activity of clandestine businessmen and analyzing what economic oversights by the state give them the opportunity to earn money.

Our correspondent met with Doctor of Economic Sciences T.I. Koryagina, chief of the USSR Gosplan Economic Scientific Research Institute Department for Social Problems and National Prosperity, and asked her to describe the present situation in this area hidden from our sight....

"Some economists equate these shady phenomena solely with the actions of organized crime," Tatyana Ivanovna said, "others define them more broadly. As I see it, any kind of economic activity which is offered to the population in exchange for payment but which is not taken into account in official statistics can be called gray.

"Say you have bought a set of bathroom fittings: a mirror, a shelf, all kinds of holders, hooks, and a soapholder. You call a representative of the 'Zarya' company. But he cannot fit the set on the wall as there are no job estimates available. But it is worth your while promising the person with the drill a 5-ruble note, for within 20 minutes you will begin using your bathroom set after first having signed a piece of paper stating that the 'Zarya' company has put, say, a dozen screws in the wall of the apartment. There are estimates for that kind of service.

"In short, our shady economy is the consequence of a severe shortage in the marketplace, it fills the gulf between large demand and limited state supply and is the direct result of command-based methods of leadership, the imperfection of our economic mechanism, and low labor productivity."

[Mostovshchikov] What kind of shady economy do we have, then?

[Koryagina] To describe it fully you need to operate with the basic figures—the overall size of "under-the-counter" commodity circulation in this instance. I have such a figure, but it is the result of relatively rough calculations. I would like, of course, to have more precise and verified information, but that is difficult. You have to compare the country's budget statistics with the complete statistical accounts. This is something only a special subunit of economists can do. It is a pity we do not have such.

You see, specialists in our country only work on separate aspects of the shady economy. My comrades and I, say, are concerned with the services sector, and there I am able to give a comparatively full picture. But there is also trade, public catering, and so forth.... In short, I cannot claim absolute accuracy, I can say that our shady commodity circulation comes overall in a year to approximately R70-90 billion.

[Mostovshchikov] Then let us talk about the services sector, with which you are familiar.

[Koryagina] According to official figures, the population of our country annually pays out of its own pocket a sum of approximately R45 billion for services offered it. But around another R14-16 billion annually goes unaccounted by the exchequer. This is the income of people who offer us "unofficial" services, services which are of higher quality or not provided for by the state at all.

The bulk of the sum you mention goes on "under-the-counter" consumer services. The repair of an apartment, the construction of a house, an extra payment to car mechanics, ceremonies [ritualnyye uslugi], that is to say, the organization of funerals and weddings. We spend a total of R5-6 billion on all this annually.

Second place is occupied by everything connected in some way with recreation and entertainment. Say, the payment for private accomodation during a vacation and so forth. Here the official statistics undercalculate by approximately R3.5 billion each year.

Then there are medical services—injections, medicines, the care and sensitivity of the stomatologist, the kindness of the therapeutist, private practice, and so forth. All this quite often costs money, and physicians, who know a thing or two about business, annually receive around R2.5 billion annually in exchange for their understanding.

We spend extra on private operators who do what taxi drivers do not manage to do and also pay for the acute housing shortage through payments to owners of apartments and rooms who let them out.

That is the picture in the services sector here today. Some 15-20 years ago it was better. Around R3-5 billion vanished "under the counter" then, and for that reason today's R14-16 billion looks very disturbing.

Similar dynamics are observable in other spheres. New types of illegal earnings have appeared. The clandestine manufacture and sale of means of production which are clearly in short supply on the official market or where there is essentially no market. The drugs industry is rapidly gathering momentum.

[Mostovshchikov] How did you obtain the figures you have cited? Do you have proof that they correspond to reality?

[Koryagina] Of course there is proof, since these figures were obtained as the result of serious, comprehensive research. We made our assessments on the basis of current and selective statistical accounts, compared them with budget statistics, and used data from special sociological research. Futhermore, individual monographs by scientists were also used in our work.

As for the soundness of the figures, it was not our task, of course, to determine absolutely accurate figures for illegal commodity circulation, which is impossible. Therefore the figures are approximate but correspond to reality to the maximum degree.

[Mostovshchikov] What can you say about the degree of organization of our "illegal" economy? What distinguishes it from that of the state?

[Koryagina] People sometimes say that people are trying through such extra earnings to smash the system of social injustice, which we have not still not completely eliminated. I am thinking of the inadequate observance of the basic principle of socialism, namely, from each according according to his ability, to each according to his labor. There is a grain of truth here, but that does not mean that the shady economy is acceptable. It is immoral. Clandestine businessmen involve bureaucracy and the apparatus of functionaries in their affairs, which leads to an increase in corruption; if you want to survive in the existing system you have to suborn people who, strictly speaking, do nothing but on whom a "yes" or "no" depends—they possess the power to decide a particular question individually. The shady economy is, of course, soil on which crime inevitably grows.

[Mostovshchikov] As Ostap Bender said, if banknotes are in circulation in the country, that means there must be people who have a lot of them. What do you know about Soviet millionaires?

[Koryagina] They too, as you will appreciate, are divided into the official and the unofficial. We have several hundred millionaires—inventors, writers, and artists—in our countries. One can only speculate about the number of clandestine ones, however. I would calculate that they number thousands. And they include among them people who may not, for example, have a ruble in ready money. Their money is in constant circulation to generate profit.

The law-enforcment organs are operating here; they seek them out and have had certain results. But punitive measures are not the main means; however, they are incapable of slowing down objective processes which we ourselves have created. Other methods should be sought.

[Mostovshchikov] What are they, then?

[Koryagina] Well, in general, we have already made quite a few good moves. The way has been opened to the cooperative movement and individual labor activity. This is having a big impact. Many shady phenomena have come to light, been legalized, and begun to work for the state, if only because tax is now paid.

This is too little, however. A pathetically small number of people have entered the sphere of trade and market relations. The absolute majority of the population is paid by the state as for hired labor sums thought up some time by someone in an office.

You ask what the way out is. The answer is to create a mechanism for trade and market relations which will without any doubt make every member of society aware of the value of his work, fill the stores with goods, and spare us shortages.

I do not share the optimism of people who believe that we can work toward such results gradually, developing cooperatives, the lease contract, and other new forms of influencing our economy that have appeared, although I am not of course against them as such. It is simply that all our initiatives are condemned to failure or at least to wishy-washy work results so long as the economy is run not by the laws of the market but by a certain circle of people, and society's prosperity depends on the will of some person rather than that of society itself. Consequently, we need, for example, decrees which will restore the land to the peasants and the plants to the workers, in short, the people as the sole owner of the country. And then our tills will be filled with real money and not pieces of paper that give you the right to wait in line and be humiliated, wondering whether you are still going to get your fitting hung up in the bathroom if the man with the drill from "Zarya" comes.

Phasing Out of Sector Ministries Urged

PM2508100388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Letter from A. Kaurov, member of the CPSU and polytechnical institute postgraduate from the City of Irkutsk, under the rubric "Letters to the Editor": "They Won't Get You Very Far, Those Outdated Carriages"; title is translation of quotation from M. Gorkiy]

[Text] In my opinion, in order to speed up the restructuring of the economy we have to cast off everything old and everything that is undermining its progress.

As long as the ministries exist, we will not get anywhere. I want you to understand me correctly—I do not think that ministry personnel are the bitter enemies of restructuring. Most of them are people going conscientiously about their duties. Unfortunately, the actual administrative mechanism is flawed. The sector ministries are both the progeny and the loyal servants of the heavy-handed administrative system of management. Whether we like it or not, by virtue of their essential functions they will undermine the work of enterprises in the new economic conditions. They are an alien element in the new economy.

I believe it would be expedient to phase out the sector ministries over the next 2 years.

Enterprises do not need "guides"—they need intermediary, auxiliary structures. Let us provisionally call them scientific and technical committees (NTK's). Their task, as it seems to me, should be to collect valuable scientific and technical information and technology—in our country and abroad. If an enterprise is interested in a piece of technology it will apply to the owner. On the conclusion of an agreement between them the NTK will receive a percentage of the value of the deal.

Another function would be to forecast developments in the sector and supply and demand for different products for the next month, the next year, and the long-term future. This information would be sold to enterprises for an agreed fee. Current information would be prepared on request from enterprises.

There would also be the intermediary function: An economically accountable enterprise would instruct the NTK to find buyers for its products or suppliers of essential raw materials either in our country or abroad. The NTK would provide a list of Soviet and foreign enterprises as possible partners. The client enterprise would hold talks, make its choice, and, if a contract was agreed, the NTK would receive commission.

The NTK could also be responsible for distributing state orders. Effective market relations will not be really meaningful without a rapid exchange of information. A computer-based information system between enterprises networked with STC's [Customs Coordination Councils] is needed. Placing all sector committees on an integrated computer system is particularly important. Then any enterprise will be able to gain rapid access to economic information from any sector. This is the system in developed countries abroad, and there is no point in scorning others' experience.

Foreign Trade Brokerage Company Role Explained

PM2508075988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Aug 88 p 3

[S. Korepanov article: "Brokers Get Down to Business"—boldface as published]

[Text] **Moscow—The report "Brokers Offer Services," which was published on 27 March, announced the forthcoming establishment of a Soviet company to offer brokerage services in foreign currency finance and foreign trade to different enterprises and organizations. The relevant USSR Council of Ministers resolution was published a few days ago.**

The USSR Gosbank, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties, and the USSR Ministry of Finance are founding members of the "Sovfintrade" Joint Stock Company. One of the basic avenues in the new company's work will be to help Soviet exporters in opening up new markets for finished products using modern forms for commodity exchange deals. The essence of these operations is that an importer pays for deliveries from abroad in commodities at his disposal.

This practice started being actively applied in world markets in the eighties under the influence of the external debt crisis experienced by developing countries which lack sufficient quantities of freely convertible foreign currency to pay for their imports. The simplest variety of such deals is direct barter, whereby exporter and importer directly exchange commodities of mutual interest. But such an opportunity is not always available. Other options are then used. For example, the commodity offered in exchange is either sold in the importer's country to a third party who settles with the supplier in either foreign or national currency, or is re-exported for sale abroad and any profit is passed on to the exporter. Another possible option involves re-export to a third country to be exchanged for another commodity of interest. Capitalist countries and the majority of socialist countries introduced commodity exchange operations in international practice fairly rapidly, and they now account for about 10 percent of world trade turnover.

As far as our country is concerned, the broad application of commodity exchange operations becomes especially topical in conditions of foreign trade decentralization. There is an urgent need to establish a general brokerage organization to help Soviet exporters conclude multilateral deals.

Financial and credit operations will be an inalienable component of "Sovfintrade's" activity. This would involve the settlement of debts by foreign partners, the discounting and sale of commercial bills of exchange and other monetary instruments held by Soviet foreign trade organizations against foreign payers, the exchange of certificates of indebtedness, and so on. This general nature of the new company's work should enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of future deals.

There can be no doubt that leasing—the acquisition of imported equipment without preliminary receipt of foreign currency and with gradual repayment of the debt—will be of considerable interest to future clients of "Sovfintrade" among Soviet industrial enterprises. The company will also offer services in the form of centralized bookkeeping as regards payments for goods bought and sold on credit. Cooperation with members of cooperatives will occupy a special position in "Sovfintrade's"

work. The Law on the Cooperative System allows the future establishment of cooperatives' own foreign trade firms, and they are even now feeling the need for contacts with the international market. "Sovfintrade" will be prepared to step in immediately for this link of cooperatives which is still lacking.

I would like to draw attention to just one detail. The "Sovfintrade" Company is being established as an autonomous and independent organization similar to the intersector associations which have emerged recently and are no longer directly subordinate to the relevant ministries.

Agricultural

Daily on 'Complacent' Response to Farm Output

PM2508133188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Aug 88 p 12

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA "Man and Economy" department report: "What Is To Be Done About 'Sneaky' Figures?"]

[Text] On 11 May, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published remarks under the headline "Agroprom's Sneaky Figures" by a well-known journalist—the agrarian Leonid Ivanov. The former economist analyzed the State Committee for Statistics summaries of the results of the country's agricultural work in 1987 and then did a few calculations. Strange things happened. The Goskomstat reported a growth in meat production, but in fact this growth had come about through herd reductions on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The number of animals on personal subsidiary farms had also fallen.

The writer devoted the second part of his remarks to the incorrect recording of grain by hopper weight, which did not correspond with the actual harvest in the granaries. And this has been happening for many decades now....

The editorial bureau has received a reply from USSR Minister A.I. Iyevlev, first deputy chairman of the Gosagroprom. We quote it in full:

"The USSR Gosagroprom has examined L. Ivanov's article 'Agroprom's Sneaky Figures' published in the 11 May 1988 LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and believes that it raises topical questions.

"The increase in agricultural output has indeed been proceeding slowly. The number of loss-making kolkhozes and sovkhozes is still large. Last year, reproduction and livestock safekeeping deteriorated owing to the extremely unfavorable wintering conditions, with livestock numbers falling slightly as a result.

"At the same time, the main growth in output was not achieved through falling livestock numbers. In the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, average annual milk yields per cow increased by 171 kg, and by 231 kg in the public sector. Meat production in all categories of farms increased by 2.2 million tonnes slaughtered weight, or by 14 percent in comparison with the average annual level of the 11th 5-Year Plan. Also, milk production increased by 8.4 million tonnes or 9 percent. There was, however, no noticeable increase in livestock output on the population's personal plots.

"In the first 5 months of this year, state reserves have received 404,000 tonnes of livestock and poultry, 1,945,000 tonnes of milk, and 1,182,700 eggs more than during the same period last year.

"The article rightly asks about the need to improve accounting with regard to the grain harvest. Along with indicators on the gross harvest in terms of the weight of grain initially registered, the annual reports of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises are now also listing grain weight after processing, and country-wide consolidated figures on this will be available next May. The waste produced as a result of grain processing has averaged 7-10 percent of the gross harvest in recent years. There are difficulties associated with determining yields and adjusting the figure to take account of excess moisture and contamination by weeds, because kolkhozes and sovkhozes still lack necessary high-speed equipment.

"The USSR Gosagroprom together with the USSR Gosplan is working on the question of improving harvest accounting, particularly with respect to recorded grain weights."

The editorial bureau would like to draw attention to the deferential and excessively complacent nature of this official response. The criticism seems to be acknowledged, but at the same time it is claimed that the situation in agriculture is normal. If everything were indeed normal, then people would not have discussed with such pain and alarm at the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum the state of affairs in the agro-industrial sector.

"Our greatest reserve is the struggle against losses," M.S. Gorbachev said in the report at the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, "and the struggle to ensure the complete safekeeping and high-quality processing of harvests and livestock output. This is the quickest way to ensure that food supplies are improved in the very near future."

L. Ivanov's article did not refer to individual cases, but rather to a baneful system of overrecording agricultural output—the notorious overreporting and window-dressing.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers have taken the thoughts of the article's author to heart. Here is what R.N. Tselikov, meritorious agronomist of the RSFSR, writes from Leningrad Oblast:

"I support the author of the article in his contention that grain yields should be recorded on the basis of the granary weight of threshed dry grain. The newspaper's editorial bureau should not avoid campaigning against grain harvest overreporting and against recording chaff and weeds. Hopper weight means simply defrauding the state. This situation could exist in the Stalinism period and in the years of stagnation when leaders could trumpet successes while concealing the real state of agricultural affairs. But that is now impossible!"

N.P. Kolosov of Moscow believes that: "The question of determining the amount of harvested grain by taking account of its moisture and weed contamination is particularly important under the conditions of the extensive introduction of the lease and family contract. The agro-industrial complex is not preparing for this, and it is mistaken. I have visited the United States, Argentina, Hungary, and the GDR. Yields and gross harvests there are determined on the basis of dry and clean grain."

A.M. Tuzhilkin, a veteran from the Moscow region, recalls an incident from his own experience:

"Livestock tuberculosis was discovered on one kolkhoz. I came to help fight it. I turned to the chief accountant in order to determine livestock numbers. He was annoyed and answered my question by shouting: 'Who knows that? We give certain figures to certain people, other figures to other people, and any old figure to anyone else! We've lied for so long that we don't know the truth anymore....'"

People have indeed spent a long time lying. But why all this sneakiness? After all, you can't fool store counters. They will not be any better supplied if good figures are listed in the reports. It is not figures that consumers want, but real products. And on the double!

Ukrainian Agro-Industrial Committee Meets 19 Aug

AU2508104488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Priority Sectors in the Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] Problems concerning the processing and storing of agricultural produce for a long time have not been properly handled, the existing capacities have become obsolete and fatigued, and for this reason their present base does not meet requirements, thus causing much waste and many food shortages. The progress made in the republic in implementing the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On accelerating the development of the material-technical base of processing branches in the agro-industrial complex in 1986-90" was examined at the 19 August session of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. A report was delivered by Yu.A. Kolomiyets, candidate member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.

It was noted that capital investments assigned to develop the branch's material-technical base were not being fully utilized. The failure to implement the construction program in the past has complicated the task set for the future: Before 1990, it is essential to put into service 60 percent of capacities planned for processing sugar beets and meat, for canning fruit and vegetables, almost all facilities for the output of potatoes, quick-frozen, and groat products, many combined fodder plants, and bakeries. Some 150 large storage facilities holding 210,000 tonnes must be put into service in the next 2 months alone.

The Ukrainian SSR State Agricultural Construction Committee, the Ministry of Construction, and the main administration of the State Agro-Industrial Committee bear direct responsibility for the unsatisfactory progress made in constructing the Gubinikha, Orekhov, Rokitno, and Kagarlyk sugar refineries; of the Simferopol, Yevpatoria, Kerch, Kramatorsk, and Nikolayev City dairies; of the Odessa, Izmail, and Sarata baby food enterprises; and dozens of other facilities. There are delays in preparing plans and estimates. The Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee's subunits are particularly slow. For example, building a cannery takes them 1.5 to 2 times longer than provided for under the norm. There are serious shortcomings in the material and technical provision of facilities under construction. The faulty supplies are accountable for stoppages in the work of builders and assemblers. Much equipment, including that which is imported, is treated in a very negligent manner. In particular, the following case was mentioned: The Kovel cheese plant in Volyn Oblast kept technological equipment acquired from the CSSR outdoors for several years. Some instruments no longer work.

The session was addressed by I.A. Mozgovoy, member and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo.

Concrete measures were drawn up to accelerate the development of the material-technical base of processing branches in the agro-industrial complex.

The session was attended by V.Z. Borisovskiy, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; V.P. Popov, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan; responsible functionaries of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Council of Ministers, and a number of ministries.

Ivano-Frankovsk Fulfills Grain Delivery Plan

AU2508134088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Aug 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "Grain to the State"]

[Text] Agricultural workers in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast have fulfilled the plan for grain sales to the state. The kolkhoz and sovkhoz deliveries have exceeded 80,000 tonnes.

The farms of Bogorodchanskiy, Dolinskiy, Kalushskiy, Kolomyyskiy, Kosovskiy, Nadvornyanskiy, Rozhnyatovskiy, Tysmenitskiy, and other rayons have completed the harvest in a well-organized manner and have coped with grain delivery pledges. The largest contribution was made by laborers in Gorodenkovskiy and Snyatynskiy Rayons.

This year it has not been easy to gather the crop in sub-Carpathia. What helped to grow and to harvest rather good yields under complex weather conditions were the application of new economic methods of farming, of the achievements of scientific-technological progress, and the persistence and assiduousness of the farmers. Intensive technologies were applied on 60,000 hectares planted with grain crops. During the rainy weather, the machine operators skillfully managed equipment and used various methods of ear crop gathering and of preparing grain for sale. "Don-1500" combines were used for harvesting for the first time.

The strain on the farms is not subsiding, as farmers are preparing winter crop seeds for fall sowing. Much attention has been paid to feed procurement.

61 Percent of Grain, Pulse Crops Cut

LD2408211988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] According to a Goskomstat report, by 22 August grain and pulse crops—not including corn—were cut on 109.1 million hectares and threshed on 67,000,000 hectares, which constitutes 61 percent of acreage sown. Farms in Azerbaijan; Stavropol Kray; Kalmyk ASSR; Voronezh, Orel, Lipetsk, Ivano-Frankovsk; and in Nikolayev and Dzhambul Oblasts have already fulfilled the state order for purchases of grain. The harvesting front is now switching to eastern regions where every third hectare of the [country's] grain acreage is located. The harvest has been threshed on the first hundreds of thousands of hectares in Altay and in Omsk, Tyumen, and Novosibrisk Oblasts. Mainly this is winter rye, which is making the Siberians happy over good yields.

Agricultural Developments for 21-24 Aug Noted

LD2508041588 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 21 to 24 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

21 August:

The first 400,000 hectares of grain have been cut in Kokchetav Oblast. Grain has been threshed on 150,000 hectares. (0104)

The first 10,000 tonnes of millet have arrived at elevators and reception points in Saratov Oblast. In all, grain procurement officials have received more than 240,000 tonnes of winter and spring grain, including 100,000 of strong and valuable wheat. (0104)

22 August:

No fileworthy items monitored.

23 August:

All oblasts in Kazakhstan have begun mass harvesting. Grain has been harvested from 75,000 hectares so far. (1300)

Tselinograd Oblast farms have started harvesting spring crops. Grain in the oblast is sown on 4 million hectares. (0800)

Farmers in Kurgan Oblast are completing sowing of winter crops, which are to occupy almost 250,000 hectares this year. (0800)

Almost 2.5 million hectares have been earmarked for winter grain crops in Kazakhstan. Over 500,000 hectares have already been sown. (1100)

In Belorussia today rural toilers are harvesting the last hectares of grains and pulses. Yields, area about, 27 quintals per hectare. Results are not yet final, but it is already clear that the gross harvest will be less than past year's. People were not ready everywhere for a prolonged dry spell or for heavy rains. But there is one interesting observation: In places where some managers missed opportunities through their own fault, and moreover were not averse to compromising on quality, subcontracting collectives were not willing to pay for their commanders' mistakes from their own pockets. (1330)

To date, 92 percent of the total area sown to grain crops in Lithuania, 47 percent of maize and 0.9 percent of potatoes have been harvested. Five percent of the total planned area has been sown to winter crops in the republic. (Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian, 0800)

24 August:

Kustanay Oblast combine workers have cut barley and wheat on 1 million hectares. The oblast's state statistics committee reports that in all, grain has been gathered from 7.5 million hectares—about one-third of the republic's grain area. (0104)

In Uzbek SSR, nearly 200,000 tonnes of corn have been threshed to date. The highest yield in the republic has been achieved in Andizhan Oblast—on average nearly 70 quintals per hectare. In Surkhan-Darya Oblast, however, the average yield has been just over 42 quintals per hectares. (0600)

Mass procurement of maize for silage has begun today in the Kuban. Almost 600,000 hectares has been sown with this crop this year. (0800)

Military

Officials Commemorate Air Force Day

Yefimov Addresses Gathering

PM2508084088 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "In Honor of the Holiday"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow working people, servicemen from the capital's garrison, Air Force veterans, and civil aviation workers was held in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions on 19 August to mark USSR Air Force Day.

On the presidium at the meeting were I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, USSR minister of general machine building; A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister; Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; A.N. Soshinkov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; thrice Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of Aviation I.N. Kozhedub; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations.

The ceremony was opened by Colonel General of Aviation L.L. Batekhin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Air Force Political Directorate.

Greetings were delivered to the airmen by N.I. Lukinov, fitter at a Moscow plant; L.I. Shvetsova, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; A.V. Milovanov, helicopter commander of a special air detachment of the Ministry of Civil Aviation; Doctor of Technical Sciences K.K. Vasilchenko; and international master of sports N.V. Sergeyeva, world aerobatics champion.

The ceremony was addressed by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister.

Defense Minister's Order

PM2508084288 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister's Order," No 291, dated 21 August 1988, Moscow]

[Text] Comrade pilots and navigators, specialists in military and civil aviation, aviation industry workers, DOSAAF aviator sportsmen, aviation veterans!

Today the Soviet people and their Armed Forces are marking USSR Air Force Day.

The country's working people, at a new stage of revolutionary transformations, are persistently implementing the practical tasks of restructuring and creatively implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

The party has given clear guidelines to the Soviet people and USSR Armed Forces servicemen for concrete action. In the troops and naval forces the intensification of the training and educational process is speeding up, and the effectiveness and quality of combat training are increasing.

In the conditions of the continuing military danger, great significance is today attached to maintaining the Army and Navy at a level that does not give military superiority to the forces of imperialism. An active part is played in the resolution of this crucial task, alongside servicemen of the other branches of the USSR Armed Forces, by military aviation personnel, for whom the CPSU's principled directive that gives priority to qualitative indicators in the combat training process has acquired programmatic significance. Aviators work purposefully to increase combat readiness and master the new aviation equipment available to the troops (forces), maintain a vigilant combat watch, improve the organization of flight and tactical training, increase flight safety, and strengthen discipline.

Civil aviation specialists are working fruitfully and the DOSAAF aviator sportsmen are adding to their successes.

Workers in the aviation industry are working at full strength. In implementing a radical economic reform, they are seeking additional reserves to improve efficiency and quality in providing aviation with modern aircraft equipment.

I greet and congratulate you on the holiday—USSR Air Force Day!

I wish pilots and navigators, specialists in military and civil aviation, aviation industry workers, DOSAAF aviator sportsmen, and aviation veterans further successes in their service and work, and good health and happiness.

To mark USSR Air Force Day I order:

That today, 21 August 1988, at 2200 local time, festive firework displays take place in the capital of our motherland, the hero city of Moscow, the capitals of the union republics, the hero cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, and the hero fortress of Brest.

I am confident that all the country's aviators will continue persistently to improve their professional skills and strengthen the defense capability of the socialist motherland.

USSR Defense Minister

Army General D. Yazov

Directorate Chief Interviewed

PM2408135688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General of Aviation L. Batekhin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Air Force, by IZVESTIYA correspondent N. Sautin under the rubric "21 August Is USSR Air Force Day": "Breaking the Sound Barrier"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Military aviation today. What is it like? We are used to hearing that the planes are the fastest, the airmen the most courageous.... All that is true. But the times require us to look more closely at the airmen's life and service, their place in the motherland's defensive formation. Restructuring is taking place in the Air Force. This renewal, as everywhere, is not following a smooth, well-worn track. The holiday is an opportunity not only to talk about successes—this is also the view of the IZVESTIYA correspondent's interviewee, Colonel General of Aviation L. Batekhin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Air Force Political Directorate. "We have begun the biggest reform of military aviation in recent years," Leonid Lukich says. "It accords with our military doctrine, which is strictly defensive and aimed at lowering the levels of military confrontation. But the desire for peace does not mean unilateral disarmament. As was stressed at the 19th party conference, reliable security can only be ensured through the qualitative development of defense building. And here the Air Force has come up against considerable difficulties."

[Batekhin continues] In the late seventies and early eighties a complacent mentality prevailed in aviation. Training flights, bombings, and training missile launches took place according to a simplified plan, far removed from real combat. Aircraft systems improved, but by no means everyone managed to "squeeze out" of them what the designers put in: The competence of flying and technical personnel fell behind the standard of equipment. Accidents also caused concern. Students at the academies were mastering yesterday's technology.

And another thing. Work in the air is difficult. There should be compensation on the ground, in the form of special concern for airmen. Their social and living conditions, however, caused justified complaints. Frankly, the prestige of our profession fell, and discipline among the troops fell.

That was the "bouquet" of minus points we had 3 years ago. After deciding to renew the Air Force, we thought we would put things right quickly. Yet although our instructions were apparently correct and our directives were stern, we did not achieve the anticipated result.

Then the time came to abandon our illusions: Apparently the central apparatus was working flawlessly, and the main brake on restructuring was being applied elsewhere, among the troops. We started restructuring ourselves. It is hard to believe now: Generals and senior officers were spending 80 percent of their time doing paperwork. What was left for working among the troops, with people? We stopped the flow of orders and instructions hampering the operational autonomy of regimental commanders. We cut through the knots of overcautious coordination. We abandoned formalism in party political work in favor of people's needs and the development of their inner potential. And only then did things begin to get moving. People in the units and formations began to believe that Moscow felt respect for and confidence in their bold initiatives.

[Sautin] One of your directives to the troops called on them to learn to work with reduced numbers of personnel. Did the central apparatus set an example here?

[Batekhin] Why should the Defense Ministry be an exception? We too have suffered cadre "losses." Some of the officers managing the Air Force have retired. Some have exchanged service in the capital for garrisons, nearby or far away.

[Sautin] The restructuring of the Air Force does more than provide for a new management structure and the abolition of superfluous components. What is being done today to ensure flight safety? After all, this too is a criterion of the quality of our defense.

[Batekhin] First, the reliability of the equipment the troops receive. Here we have complaints. We hope soon there will be fewer. The suppliers are preparing to go over to economic accountability. It follows from this that the financial prosperity of the manufacturers of equipment will depend on how the client—us—assesses a new machine.

Second, it is not only mechanical failure that leads to accidents. The pilot's individual qualities are equally important. Modern aircraft systems make far tougher demands on the officers' intellectual and physical capabilities. Sometimes they are carrying out missions where the nervous and psychological strain literally reaches the limit of what a human being can take. Especially with

in-flight refueling, extremely low-altitude flights, and target interception. Take this example: During a night flight in clouds, the airmen have to consult piloting and navigational instruments about 200 times a minute, fixing their eyes on each instrument for no more than 0.3-0.9 seconds...

The new stage in the development of aviation is no less exacting for the pilot. The Air Force reform takes account of this. In a few years we will be admitting to the flying schools only those young men who have studied helicopters, planes, and gliders at DOSAAF flying clubs and have made solo flights.

[Sautin] How far into the future of aviation does the Air Force reform look?

[Batekhin] Supersonic systems are with us today. Tomorrow, the next generation of combat machines could appear. That is the dialectics of the development of aviation. But the new planes still have to be "incorporated" effectively into the country's defense system. A search is under way for improved forms of Air Force organizational structure, combat training, rear services, and aircraft engineering support.

[Sautin] How can we ignore the history of our Air Force on the aviators' holiday! They say only airmen were Stalin's pets....

[Batekhin] Yes, he did indeed show partiality toward the Air Force. He was on first-name terms with many Air Force commanders, but even "Stalin's falcons" were not protected from repressions by the leader's love. All the military districts Air Force chiefs were declared "enemies of the people." The chief of the Air Force Main Directorate, the 30-year-old General P. Rogachev, was arrested a few days before the war. He was shot on 6 October on Beria's orders.

There were many criminal mistakes.... On the first day of the fascist attack the western front lost 738 planes, 40 percent of all it had.... Only later, through a colossal effort by the entire coutnry, was the series production of 25 new types and modifications of planes launched. And what planes! [passage omitted]

[Sautin] In the West they write that "Stingers" have accelerated the Russians' departure from Afghanistan...

[Batekhin] It cannot be denied that "Stingers" are dangerous weapons. But they did not influence our airmen's fulfillment of their duty as internationalists. Alas, there were casualties. [passage omitted]

The Afghan experience has perfected tactics in the use of planes and helicopters. And of course, it is not the "Stingers" that are sending the airmen back to the Soviet Union, but strict compliance with the Geneva agreements. [passage omitted]

Marshal Decorated for 'Services to Army'

PM2408100988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree dated 22 August 1988: "On the Conferment of the Order of the Red Star on Comrade A.P. Silantyev"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Petrovich Silantyev is awarded the Order of the Red Star for his services to the Soviet Army.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium